

REVITALIZING THE AMAZIGH LANGUAGE

STAKES, CHALLENGES, AND STRATEGIES

Ahmed BOUKOUS

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Transcription

b	ب	ⴱ	k	ك	ⴽ
m	م	ⵎ	g	گ	ⴳ
f	ف	ⴼ	q	ق	ⵇ
t	ت	ⵜ	x	خ	ⵅ
ṭ	ط	ⵟ	ɣ	غ	ⵖ
ṯ	ث	ⵜ	ʔ	ء	
d	د	ⴷ	ħ	ح	ⵃ
ḏ	ذ	ⴷ	ε	ع	ⵄ
ḍ	ض	ⴹ	g^w	گ̊	ⴳⵯ
ḏ	ظ	ⴹ	k^w	ک̊	ⴽⵯ
n	ن	ⵏ	q^w	ق̊	ⵇ
l	ل	ⵍ	a	أ	ⴰ
r	ر	ⵔ	i	ـِ	ⵉ
s	س	ⵙ	u	ـُ	ⵓ
ṣ	ص	ⵚ	y	ي	ⵢ
z	ز	ⵣ	w	و	ⵡ
ẓ	ژ	ⵥ			
š	ش	ⵛ			
j	ج	ⵊ			

Notation:

- The 33 phonemes of Standard Amazigh are transcribed in Latin, Arabic and Tifinagh characters.
- Geminate consonants are doubled; examples : idda, ayyur.
- Labialized consonants are followed by a superscript ^{w}; examples : ag^wdal, ig^wna.
- Emphatic consonants are transcribed with a dot underneath; examples: taḍa, iẓi.
- Spirantized consonants are underlined; examples: ḇaḇa, ṯura, aḵal.
- The vowel ə corresponds to schwa; examples : da ittəddu, la ittəttər.

PROLOGUE

Languages between Attrition and Revitalization

In the context of globalization of exchanges, the linguistic field has become an integrated market at the global level. The laws governing the ways this market operates consolidate strong languages and weaken the weaker ones, thus drastically reducing the diversity of the world's languages. The danger facing linguistic diversity summons the communities concerned, international organizations, as well as nongovernmental organizations dedicated to human rights. As such, UNESCO makes the following observation: the diversity of the linguistic heritage of humanity is threatened by the death of weak languages. This statement is based on the following facts:

(i) 6809 languages are listed worldwide, with 32% in Asia, 30% in Africa, 19% in the Pacific, 15% in the Americas, and 3% in Europe;

(ii) 50% of the world's languages are endangered;

(iii) 450 languages are moribund, including 161 in the Americas, 157 in the Pacific, 55 in Asia, 37 in Africa and 7 in Europe;

(iv) One language disappears on average every two weeks.

Starting from the premise that the world's languages are part of the universal ecology, UNESCO has implemented a program for endangered languages. Part of the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2003), this program focuses on the following priority areas:

(i) raising consciousness with respect to the problem of language death and the need to preserve linguistic diversity;

(ii) strengthening local capacity and promoting appropriate language policies, and

(iii) Mobilizing international cooperation.

Linguists are also interested in the dynamics that characterize sociolinguistic situations and in the conflict that generates language endangerment. The main themes that have attracted the attention of researchers are mainly language contact (Weinreich, 1963), language ecology (Haugen, 1972; Calvet, 1999), situations of language endangerment (de Swaan, 1997; Fishman, 2000), language death (Dorian,

1981; Hagege, 2000; Crystal, 2002), language maintenance (Fishman, 1966; Fase et al., 1992), language revitalization (Harshav, 1993; Landry *et al.* 2005; Tsunoda, 2005), language and ethnicity (Fishman, 1991; Fought, 2006), language policy (Calvet, 1987; Weinstein, 1990), language planning (Haugen, 1966; Fishman, 2006), structural changes affecting endangered languages (Lambert and Freed, 1982; Smolicz, 1992), globalization and the endangerment of languages (Trudgill, 2004; Vigouroux and Mufwene, 2008), language endangerment and human rights (Philippson, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000), etc. This means that the issue of language endangerment is an object of scientific research and that, consequently, its apprehension is legitimized by science more than by ideology.

The interest aroused in linguists about the issue of language endangerment in the world relates, in addition to academic concerns, to ethics and justice. Undoubtedly, because language summons in us *things* that are related both to the intimacy of the person and to the sociality of the individual, there are contradictory discourses that are developing about language, namely a common sense discourse and a positivist one. The former focuses on the ontological function of language and usually sheds in *a priori* that are ideological in nature, while the latter, focusing on language structure, strives to *objectify* language by reducing it to an abstract system governed by universal principles. The aporia to which the reductionism of these two approaches leads is definitely the result of a misunderstanding of the complex reality of language and the ambivalence of its uses, functions and representations.

Limiting interest to the primacy of the social uses of language and specifically to its communicative function can lead to adopting an instrumentalist conception towards language. Indeed, such a conception may be adequate with respect to languages that have an essentially transaction or exchange function. However, when applied to the first language, this conception turns out to be reductionist and, consequently, inadequate. Indeed, not only is language a code that makes verbal interaction between interlocutors possible, but it is also a sign of the cognitive development of the individual. Accordingly, it represents a privileged communion link between beings. That is why it is experienced as a hearth of identity crystallization in the individual's emotional

development and socialization, which explains the moral concern aroused by language endangerment.

However, the ontological dimension of the first language cannot go uncriticized, i.e. by putting it into perspective in the field of symbolic production. In other words, language cannot be confined to an abstract entity that can be subtracted from the social conditions governing its functioning; it is a product that suffers the dynamics of the social field. Like all material or symbolic social products, it has a specific value in the language market, and, of course, this value differs from one linguistic variety to another. Therefore, language is an asset that positions the speaker in the social structure by providing him with advantages, privileges, and rewards that are proportional to the value this language has in the market of symbolic goods.

The weight and value of a language are nevertheless not absolute because the structure and function of the language are *de facto* subject to the law of mutability. Accordingly, as soon as the language undergoes a field shift by moving from the ontological order to the social one and from that of communion to that of transaction, it becomes *ipso facto* devoid of its subjective aura, abandons its referential function and, thus, popularizes by *falling* into the field of common sense. This despoliation is experienced by the individual as dramatic language severing, since he feels in his being and his flesh the wound resulting from being extracted from the symbolic, maternal universe. Different spaces, people and other relations command the first language to position itself, to travesty or to resign; or, in a nutshell, to succumb to the relentless rules of symbolic violence. The initiation course of the street, school and work, and, as importantly, the interaction of the participants in the social interplay that takes place there, are parameters that reshape the statuses, structures, uses, functions and representations of language in the new sites where it is deployed to gain vitality or be stricken by obsolescence.

The phenomenon of language endangerment is historical and universal. Maghreb societies are no exception to this general tendency made worse by the unprecedented changes that are at work. Initiated by the internal dynamics of these societies, the phenomenon has expanded through

contact with Europe (see Miège, 1961; Adam, 1968) and accelerated with the globalization of trade. The material and symbolic stakes induced by the process of language loss are manifest in the economic, social, cultural and linguistic domains through the conjunction of the effects of globalization and localization. Focus here is on the linguistic dimension of the issues that drive the North African linguistic landscape, a landscape marked by the co-existence of national and foreign languages. The national languages are Amazigh ("Berber" in the Western tradition) and Arabic, with its variety and its standard dialects (called "Moroccan", "Algerian", "Tunisian", "Libyan" Arabic etc.). As to the most common foreign languages, these are French and Spanish, the languages of the former colonial powers. As elsewhere, the language market is highly stratified. Amazigh and Colloquial Arabic occupy a minor position; Standard Arabic enjoys the status of the official language, and French has the function of the privileged foreign language because of its economic and cultural weight. This stratification reflects inter-linguistic competition and conflict.

Among the languages present, the Amazigh language is over-dominated due to its being minoritized for centuries. An indigenous language, Amazigh is spoken today by about thirty million people worldwide, in the form of dialects used for primarily oral communication needs. Throughout the history of the region, this language has gradually given way to Arabic for political, social, economic and cultural reasons (cf. Marçais, 1961; Boukous, 2008). The process of minoritization of the Amazigh language has led to the current situation, in which the language is endangered in the medium term. The causes are essentially the precarious living conditions of Amazighophone communities and, subsequently, the assimilation of these communities in urban areas due to contact with the Arabic language and culture. However, with the emergence of awareness concerning a community identity, Amazighophones aspire to valorize their language and culture which have hitherto been minoritized *de facto* at the institutional level.

For a decade, the outlines of a new linguistic and cultural policy are emerging in the Maghreb, a policy for the management of diversity which is in favor of a certain promotion of Amazigh. The Maghreb countries seem, indeed, willing to provide the conditions for the integration of the Amazigh

language and culture in public policies. For this purpose, appropriate institutions have been created, namely *Le Haut Commissariat à l'Amazighité* (HCA) (the High Commission for Amazighness) in Algeria and *L'Institut Royal de la Culture Amazighe* (IRCAM) (the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture) in Morocco. Amazigh is also (partly) integrated in education and the media. This unprecedented situation requires Amazigh to meet the demands of modern life, namely the transition from orality to scripturality and the elaboration of the language. The expectations are huge and diverse, and the needs no less important, especially in the codification of a proper writing system, the standardization of spelling and the planning of the corpus of the language. In this vast project, the tasks and responsibilities are *a priori* shared (see Fishman, 1968): the state has to ensure the implementation of a strategic plan to promote the language; scientists have to solve corpus planning problems; support structures have to follow up on the implementation of measures in institutions; and, finally, the community's responsibility is to exercise its duty to ensure that this takes place. Nonetheless, beyond corpus planning comes the choice of the constitutional status of the language, which represents a *sine qua non* condition for the success of the revitalization policy. Ultimately, the survival of the language and culture further depends on the willingness of the community to be involved in *socializing proximity* and *conscious self-determination* (see Landry et al., ibid.)

Specifically, this book analyzes the present situation of the Amazigh language in Morocco, a situation which is marked by both endangerment embodied in a compelling historical process and the beginnings of revitalization borne by recent developments in the linguistic and cultural policy. The clarification this book contributes concerning this issue is all the more necessary as questions are formulated that are related to the issues and challenges of the "revival of Amazighness". The general theme of the book is part of the issue of the dialectic effect of the opposing forces of the tendency for minoritized languages to become endangered and those reversing this tendency through revitalization processes. In the case of Amazigh, there is a gradual shift from a situation of attrition to the beginnings of an evolutionary revitalization mechanism. In terms of terminology, attrition is a process whereby languages in conflict with

stronger ones are weakened and devitalized. This situation is generally characterized by the reduction of the functions and uses of the language, the diminution in the number of speakers, semilingualism, the break in intergenerational transmission and, *in fine*, death (see Valdman, 1997). As for revitalization, it occurs over time through the planning of the status and corpus of the language, its cultural creation, and especially the political will of the state along with the loyalty of the linguistic community (see Fishman, 1966).

Reflecting pieces of research conducted by the author over the last three decades, the chapters in the present work are updated and articulated around a central theme: the impact of social change on linguistic evolution (see Boukous, bibliography). This theme is subdivided into four axes:

(i) The sociolinguistic framing of Amazigh in the stratification of the language market at the local level;
(ii) The indicators of the attrition of Amazigh at the eco-linguistic and structural levels in the context of the integration of Amazighophone communities into urban culture;
(iii) The premises of the process of revitalization of Amazigh through language planning and the codification of spelling ; and
(iv) The challenges of the issue of linguistic attrition as a product of social determinism and of linguistic revitalization as an expression of self-determined community awareness.

The study of these axes combines macroscopic and microscopic approaches. Adopting an essentially qualitative analysis, it is underpinned by a guiding theoretical and methodological invariant, that of the sociology of language as the study of sociolinguistic change (see Fishman's and , Labov's works in the bibliography) and that of the sociology of the economy of linguistic exchanges (see Bourdieu, 1982). May these heuristic precautions spare the author, as he is involved in the subject of his work, the bias of the observer's paradox. In any case, in his conception of scientific research, he tries to strike a balance between the fundamentals of scientificity and the principles of ethics and equity.

PART I

PROCESSES AND EFFECTS OF ATTRITION

Chapter 1

Stratification of the Language Market

The present chapter analyzes linguistic diversity through diagnosing the particular situation of the language market in the Maghreb, with a particular focus on the case of Morocco. The interest of the analysis of such a situation is that it enables us to examine how globalization leads therein to linguistic power relations which reflect the major issues related to the political, economic and cultural changes the entire region is undergoing. The issues to be discussed here are, successively, the strata composing the multilingualism characterizing the region, namely the revitalization of the autochthophony, or indigenous language stratum represented by Amazigh, the strategies of legitimizing Arabic as a central stratum, the economic influence of Francophony as a super-central stratum, and the emergence of Anglophony at the level of the techno-structure symbolizing the hyper-central stratum. Examination of these issues will lead to raise the crucial issue of managing linguistic diversity, not in the wake of "neo-liberal" globalization, but rather in the context of controlled *glocalization* (see Trudgill, 2004).

1. Language Strata

Since time immemorial, North Africa has continuously been a land of confluence between the various communities around the Mediterranean region. In fact, the languages and cultures of these communities came into contact with the autochthonous, namely the Amazigh, language and culture. The latter had to successively undergo the influence of the Phoenician, Greek, Roman, Arabic, Spanish, Portuguese and French languages and cultures (see Julien, 1994). This situation of contact led to substratum and superstratum phenomena which still mark the Amazigh

language and culture. In other words, in the region, globalization has practically permeated the different stages of human history with its strong imprint, as is the case elsewhere; this has helped to generate a more or less slow attrition process of the minoritized languages (see Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). This phenomenon has obviously been exacerbated in the context of the systematic globalization in modern times.

The macro-sociolinguistic analysis of the situation prevailing in the Maghreb shows that it is marked by the diversity of languages and a remarkable dynamics that is reflected in the interaction of languages, often through the entrenchment of their uses. Indeed, besides the national languages- Arabic and Amazigh together with their respective dialects- there is the co-existence of foreign languages, namely French and, marginally, Spanish and English. These languages differ roughly in terms of their status, functions and uses. The *de facto* multilingualism that characterizes this situation has diverse effects in such important domains as education, training, administration, culture and economy. Consequently, the major challenge for the future Maghreb lies in the rational, functional and fair management of linguistic pluralism (Boukous, 1995).

The languages that coexist on the language market obviously have neither the same weight nor the same value due to the differential impact of ecological factors, particularly the demographic factor. In the case of Morocco, the 2004 population census gives the following demo-linguistic data:

Amazighophone and Arabohpone populations (%)

Languages Spoken	Amazigh	Moroccan Arabic	Total
Urban	21	79	100
Rural	34	66	100
Both	28	72	100

10 year-old and over population according to the languages read and written (%)

Languages read and written	1994	2004
None	52.7	43.0
Standard Arabic	14.7	17.3
Standard Arabic + French	23.8	30.3
St. Arabic + French + another language	5.6	9.1
St. Arabic + another language (French)	0.1	0.1
Other cases	3.1	0.2

(Source: High Commission for Planning, 2004)

From the consideration of these two tables, the following paradox stands out: As mother tongues, Amazigh and Colloquial Arabic are the most widely used languages as means of oral communication; however, Standard Arabic and French, the languages of writing, are after all used to a little extent. At the sociolinguistic level, it thus turns out that the degree of prestige of languages is inversely proportional to their degree of use. This paradox reflects, for one thing, the bipartition of the linguistic market into oral languages and written languages. For another, it reflects the functional diglossia which distinguishes high or prestigious languages- Standard Arabic and French- from the low or *popular* languages- Amazigh and Colloquial Arabic (see Ferguson, 1959; Fishman, 1972). In addition, there is a strong competition between the languages that belong either to the same category or to the two categories. In fact, because of their status, attributes and sociolinguistic functions, languages compete in the fields of social production which provide the symbolic capital, in terms of distinction and recognition, as well as the material capital, in terms of benefits and privileges. In addition, as languages have neither the same symbolic value nor the same social uses, they hold different positions in the linguistic *habitus* of the speakers and, by the same token, in the socio-economic field. Furthermore, recourse to the practice of transitional bilingualism and diglossia or the functional use of languages is one of the particularities of the linguistic field in the Maghreb. More generally, this is a form of unstable diglossia, in which the positions acquired by each of the languages

are not absolute; rather they evolve in accordance with the power relations between their respective users as well as their attitudes, motivations and symbolic representations. For example, the domain where the conflict manifests itself most clearly is public education, where French is generalized at times and marginalized at others. This fluctuation depends on the conjuncture, the power relations between the proponents of Arabization, the pragmatisms amongst policy makers and the users of the co-existing languages who are in favor of Francophony. We use herein the notion of *linguistic conflict* to mean the power relations between the languages in contact. These relations reflect, at the symbolic level, the visible or latent antagonisms between the social groups who identify themselves with one language or another and who use it as a capital enabling them to make symbolic and material profits.

Research dealing with multilingualism in the Maghreb reveals that users are involved in several types of situations in which bilingualism with diglossia is predominant (see Moâtassime, 1992; Boukous, 1995; Messaoudi, 2003). We can describe this situation as follows: Generally, the speakers whose first language is Amazigh tend to practice diglossia, in that they alternately use at least their mother tongue and Colloquial Arabic, while the literate speakers can also use Standard Arabic and, possibly, French. As for the speakers whose first language is Arabic, they may be monolingual, if they are not educated, resort to diglossia if they use Colloquial Arabic and Standard Arabic, or yet have recourse to triglossia if they are able to communicate in French or Spanish as well.

Thus, it is clear that the sociolinguistic situation is not static; on the contrary, the dynamics of this situation is reflected in the changes in progress affecting the use of the languages. The most significant trends are fourfold:

(i) The progressive movement towards a form of revitalization of Amazigh after decades of marginalization;
(ii) The emergence of another variety of Arabic, called Middle Arabic, which establishes a continuum in the Standard Arabic-Colloquial Arabic diglossia, with the main effect being the injection of sociolinguistic vitality to Arabic;

(iii) The turning of the competition between the two colonial languages, Spanish and French, to the advantage of French, which is concomitantly becoming more and more an elitist language; and
(iv) Finally, the emergence of English as the outsider and its being imposed in the context of the globalization of exchanges and the tertiarization of the economy.

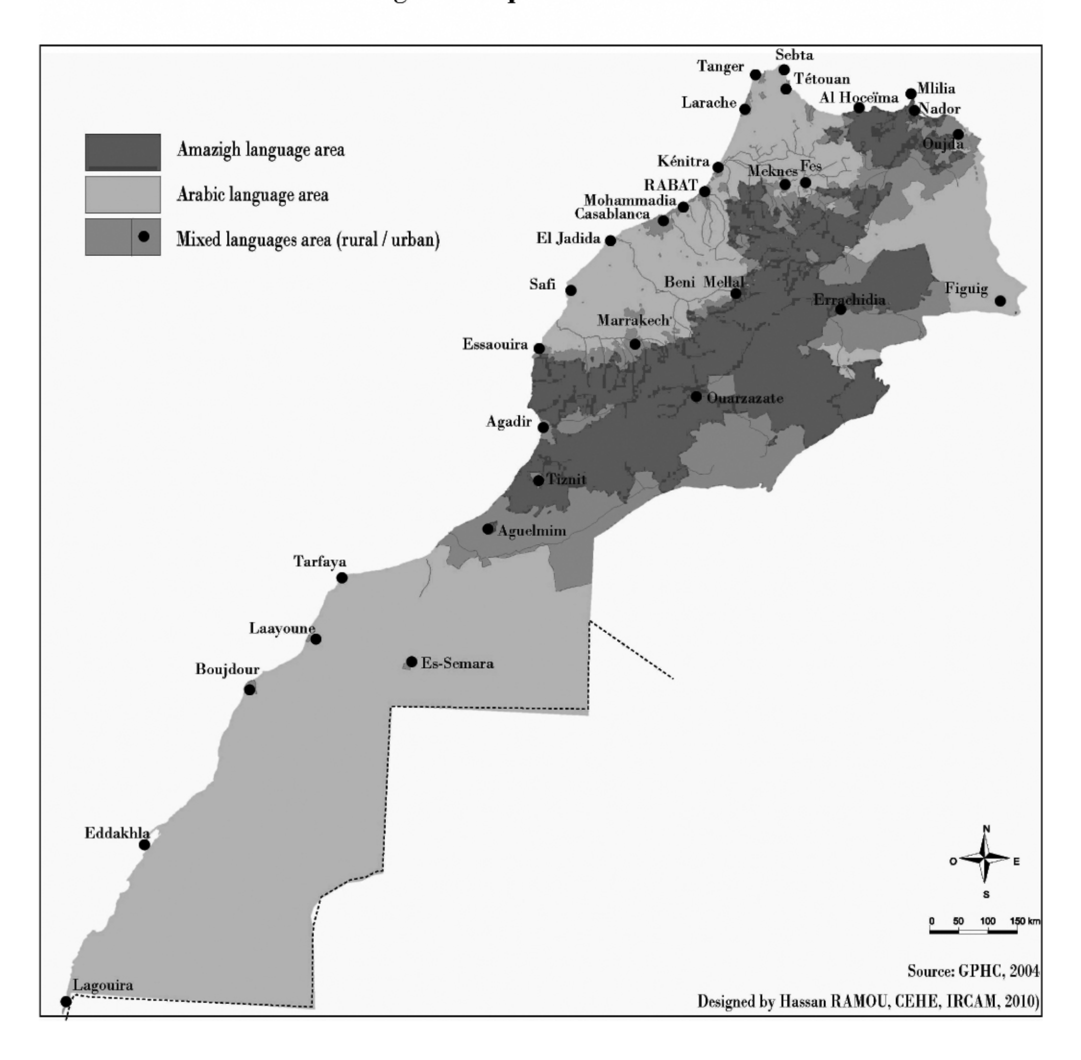
The analysis of the situation of the language market as proposed in this chapter is based on the *gravitational model* applied in (Calvet, 1999) to the galaxy of the world's languages, following De Swaan (1996). The basic finding of this approach is that in multilingual countries, bilingual speakers establish relations between the languages present according to hierarchical linguistic relations. Thus, the majority of Amazighophones are also Arabophones since they speak Colloquial Arabic and, possibly, Standard Arabic. They may also be Francophone, Anglophone or Hispanophone. On the contrary, the users of Standard Arabic, French, English, or yet Spanish are also necessarily speakers of Colloquial Arabic and/or Amazigh. This state of affairs, thus, shows that the language market is stratified into peripheral languages (Amazigh and Colloquial Arabic), a central language (Standard Arabic at the national level), super-central languages (Standard Arabic at the international level, French and Spanish) and a hyper-central language (English).

The following map illustrates the spatial distribution of the first languages, namely Amazigh and Arabic along with their varieties. It shows clearly that the speakers of Amazigh live essentially in mountainous regions, plateaus, or pre-desert regions, i.e. areas marked by economic precariousness and the weakness of infrastructures in terms of the road network, electricity, drinking water, as well as health and education. This explains the high rate of internal migration towards urban or peri-urban centers and towards metropolises abroad, namely in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Spain, Italy and Germany.

2. Amazighophony, the Local Stratum

Amazigh is the most anciently attested language in the region. Archaeological documents of ancient Egypt trace the written history of

Amazigh to at least the second millennium BC (see Camps, 1995). Nowadays, according to the demo-linguistic data available, which is by the way questionable, the percentages of Amazighophones range from 28% in



Morocco to 27.4% in Algeria and to only 1% in Tunisia. In the vast space Amazigh occupies in the Maghreb and the Sahel, the language is divided into dialectal areas between which mutual intelligibility is sometimes difficult, especially when these areas are remote from one another.

In Morocco, there are roughly three geolectal areas, from south to north: Tashlhit, Tamazight and Tarifit. According to statistics provided by the High Commission for Planning (HCP, 2004), Tashlhit, Tamazight and Tarifit dialects are spoken, respectively, by 52%, 31% and 17% of the Amazighophone population, itself estimated at 30% of the overall population. The area of Tashlhit (Shleuh) includes western High Atlas, the Anti-Atlas, Jbel Bani, Souss and part of the Dra Valley. The Tashlhitophone communities are thus established in a parallelogram delimited on the map by a line connecting the region of Demnat in the High Atlas Mountains to Essaouira in the north, the Atlantic coast of Essaouira to the Noun River in the west, and the line following the course of the Dra River in the east and south. The main urban centers are Agadir, Taroudant, Tiznit, Biougra, Tafraout, Ouarzazate, Imintanoute, and so on. In addition, we should bear in mind the fact that the migration of Tashlhitophones to the big cities of the kingdom, like Casablanca, Marrakech, Rabat, Salé, Fez, Meknès and Tangiers is highly developed; and so is external migration to the countries of Western Europe. The area of Tamazight (Beraber) includes the Middle Atlas Mountains, the eastern slopes of the High Atlas Mountains, Ghris and Ziz valleys, and transhumance lands between Ayyachi Mountain and Saghro Mountain. Tamazightophone communities are established between a southern line represented by Saghro Mountain and a northern line represented by the Corridor of Taza. The eastern and western boundaries of this space are, respectively, the median Moulouya course and that of the Grou River. The main Tamazightophone cities are Meknès, Fez, Khemisset, Azrou, Khenifra and Errachidia. The Tarifit region covers a mountainous area bordered by the Mediterranean from Alhuceima to Nador and extending north and south of the Corridor of Taza; to the west, this area is limited by the Jbalas. Tarifitophone communities are represented mainly by the Boqqoya, Ait Ouariaghel, Temsaman, Ait Touzin, Iqerâiyine, Ikbdanene, Igznayene, Ait Ouarayene, Snhaja of Sraïr groups, etc. The

external migration of the Tarifitophone community to Spain, Belgium, Holland and Germany is developed.

Everywhere, Amazigh dialects are used mainly in rural, mountainous or pre-desert regions; they are also increasingly used in cities due to rural exodus, the urbanization of Amazighophone regions, and external migration. Amazigh has undergone a process of institutional marginalization, which greatly contributed to the precariousness of its situation and led to the reduction of the number of Amazighophones on account of their linguistic and cultural assimilation throughout history.

Until recently, despite the work done during the colonial period, the state in which the Amazigh language and culture were was critical because of the disaffection of the speakers as a sequel to the exclusion of their culture from institutions, the weakening of their language and their assimilation to Colloquial Arabic in the context of migration. To struggle against this loss, a fraction of Amazighophone elites initiated extra-institutional development strategies through individual actions and actions within associations. These actions have mainly targeted cultural influence in order to build a modernist awareness of the Amazigh identity; this is achieved through claiming linguistic and cultural rights, the creation of conditions to upgrade cultural and artistic expression through the modernization of the language, the music and the songs, and access to other forms of expression like the written press, audiovisual media, the cinema and drama. The work accomplished, often in difficult political, ideological and financial conditions, has made substantial progress in terms of both raising the Amazigh issue in general and operationalizing certain actions. Thus, the written use of Amazigh has achieved some progress, particularly in the fields of publishing and the press. Indeed, there are works of literature written in Amazigh, most of which are collections of poems, short stories and translations. In addition, there are periodicals partially written in Amazigh. The oral repertoire of this language is also enriched by its use in drama and the audio-visual media, particularly in video-films and in some formal situations such as conferences and association meetings on the Amazigh language and culture. Amazigh is also used in the political speeches and meetings of communal councils in some Amazighophone regions. However, the span of extra-institutional actions

proved to be limited because of the narrow leeway and the limited resources available to the associative fabric.

In recent decades, the situation of Amazigh has undergone a qualitative change in a national and international political context marked by the culture of human rights. Indeed, the creation of institutions dedicated to the preservation and promotion of the Amazigh language and culture, namely the High Commission for Amazighness (HCA) in Algeria and the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture in Morocco (IRCAM), will have a positive impact on the situation of Amazigh. A new strategy, which shows a certain form of recognition of Amazighness, is thus initiated in the field of cultural and linguistic policy. The reference framework within which this policy is couched revolves around two axioms: The axiom of the linguistic and cultural plurality of the symbolic field and that of the national character of Amazigh. Following this reference framework, six main arguments serve as a foundation for the legitimacy of Amazighness:

(i) It is a historical deal that is deeply rooted in the history and civilization of the Maghreb;
(ii) It is an essential element of the culture and heritage that is common to all the components of the national community;
(iii) It represents one of the linguistic and cultural symbols of the cohesion of the national community;
(iv) Its promotion is an important lever in the democratic and modernist society project that the Maghreb aspires to;
(v) It is a national responsibility to take care of it; and
(vi) Finally, Amazighness should open up to the modern world to achieve the conditions for its development and sustainability.

The purpose of the actions undertaken is to create the conditions for the revitalization of the Amazigh culture in order to fill the many gaps in the language and culture that badly need upgrading after centuries of marginalization and underdevelopment. The specific mission of institutions such as the HCA and the IRCAM is to contribute to the preservation and promotion of the Amazigh language and culture, particularly in the fields of education, information and public life in general. In this perspective, it is undeniable that the exploitation of new technologies conveyed in the wake

of globalization has enabled Amazigh to have a keypad, a codified spelling- the Tifinagh-Unicode, and multimedia supports that virtually allow the Amazigh language and culture to be disseminated at the international level. Benefiting from this contribution, Amazigh will accordingly no longer have only the status of an ethnolinguistic marker of the Amazigh identity characterized by rurality and under-development. However, the process of language revitalization is still in its infancy, and both the strategy of revalorization and the methods of this process require taking into account a number of factors (see Landry et al., 2005). The conditions of revitalizing Amazigh are those adopted by UNESCO, which has established nine criteria for evaluating the degree of vitality of a language:

(i) The transmission of language from one generation to another.
(ii) The absolute number of speakers;
(iii) The proportion of speakers in the reference population;
(iv) The trends in the existing linguistic contexts;
(v) The response to new contexts and media;
(vi) Pedagogical materials for language teaching and literacy;
(vii) The official status and use, including the attitudes and the governmental and institutional language policies;
(viii) The attitudes of the members of the communities towards their own language; and
(ix) The quantity and quality of documentation.

The diagnosis of the situation of Amazigh in the light of these criteria will make it possible to assess the chances of Amazigh to resist attrition and language death. This means that Amazigh will ultimately remain an endangered language as long as it does not benefit from an efficient support from institutions and will be abandoned by its own speakers in favor of other languages, namely Colloquial Arabic.

3. Arabophony, the Central Stratum

The Arabic language has been installed in the Maghreb since the end of the 7th century A.D. thanks to the expansion of the Muslim conquest. The presence of Arabic is a national and supranational reality in that it plays the role of the official language in the Maghreb countries and that of the

international language with respect to the “Arab World”. It should also be made clear that the term Arabic language covers a complex reality since it refers to several varieties of the same language, namely the different chronolects of Literary Arabic (Classical Arabic, Modern Arabic, and Standard Arabic ...) and the different lects of Spoken Arabic (City Arabic, Urban Arabic, Bedouin Arab, Hassani Arabic, and Jebli Arabic; see Colin, 1937). The issue of the status and functions of the Arabic language is acute in countries where it has been an official language at least since their gaining independence. This issue is recurrent both in the general debate on language policy and in the domain of educational policy (see Grandguillaume, 1983; Boukous, 1996; Messaoudi, 2004).

The Arabization policy conducted in Arab countries is a political choice of the independent states, the objective of which is to achieve the cultural independence of these countries from their former colonizers, namely the United Kingdom in Iraq, Jordan, the Gulf States, Egypt and the Sudan; France in Lebanon, Syria, Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco and Mauritania; and Spain in Morocco. As a language policy, Arabization aims at imposing Standard Arabic as the sole working language in all public institutions and at making it occupy all the domains of social communication by monopolizing the oral and written uses; bear in mind that Colloquial Arabic is installed virtually in all the domains of oral communication and especially that French is a serious competitor of Standard Arabic in the domains of written and oral communication. The objective declared by the proponents of Arabization is to eliminate the use of French, at least in public institutions, and to reduce the status of the French language to a subject matter of education only, rather than that of a means of instruction. In Algeria, for example, where the policy of Arabization was perhaps the most proactive, laws were enacted to impose Arabic in parliament, justice, administration, education and economic life. Law 91-05 of 16th January 1991 on the generalization of the Arabic language imposes the exclusive use of Arabic in the aforementioned fields, prohibits any foreign language, and provides for heavy fines for offenders. In Morocco, the Al Youssoufi government went further in 1999 by ordering the compulsory and exclusive use of Arabic in administrative correspondence. As the decision has had a very limited effect, the parliamentary group of the Istiqlal Party

sought to initiate a law in the same direction in 2008 at the House of Councilors, but the law has not had much success so far. This means that the issue of language is not a trivial matter and that it is a political issue.

The conflict between Standard Arabic and French is due to the fact that these two languages are in competition in several fields, chiefly in education, administration, media and culture. The prestigious nature of these fields makes these languages the strongest ones in the linguistic market, while their values are neither equal nor constant, in that their value depends on the nature of the field in which they are employed in institutions and by social actors. For example, the mastery of Standard Arabic provides access to a number of professions that deal with the domains related to religious issues, such as traditional education, religious affairs and judicature, or professions which are related to the teaching of Arabic literature, Islamic studies and human sciences. However, as far as employment is concerned, French is the key that allows access to sectors of modern economy. In fact, it is well known that, in selecting applicants for employment in a position of responsibility in a company, human resource managers attach more importance to a good mastery of French than of Standard Arabic. Now, if competency in French is a capital that is sought, only those institutions where French is the language of instruction can facilitate the acquisition of this capital; these are French institutions, in the first place, and private schools that opt for French as a language of instruction and training, in the second place. Here, again, we find the well-known role of the school as a place for the production and reproduction of elites (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1970; Vermeren, 2001).

The lesson to be drawn from this experience is that not only should the Arabization policy be decreed, but it must as well be operationalized, particularly in the socio-economic domain; furthermore, it must be accepted and implemented by the users in their linguistic behavior. In fact, since language is a medium of human development, it is clear that in order to allow society access to an endogenous social and economic development, the Arabic language, as an official language, must satisfy the requirements of modernity and, therefore, must itself be modernized. Thus, the various countries of the Maghreb have opted for the policy of arabizing the institutions of the public sector, somehow with more or less

success. Thus, institutions of language planning were created in order to implement this policy, sometimes by deciding to radically impose the use of Arabic and to ban the use of French in administrations. For example, in 1960 the Moroccan State created the Institute of Studies and Research for Arabization, assigning to it the task of promoting Arabic and implementing the Arabization policy in education and administration.

From the foregoing, it is clear that Arabization is an eminently political issue. It is also an anthropological issue insofar as it appeals to man's identity and culture. In this context, the term Arabization leads to ambiguity in the sense that the phenomenon and the action that it induces may have ethnic Arabization as an objective. In this case, it is clear that Arabization transmutes into an ideological project aiming at assimilating Amazighophone populations. Arabization can also be taken to have a technical meaning as a process of linguistic standardization applied to Arabic, hence the ambivalence of the policy of Arabization (see Boukous, 1996). Arabization as a process of recovering the national cultural identity is conceived by everyone, intellectuals as well as political, labor and cultural organizations, as a political decision whose purpose is to curb the presence of Francophony, which is considered invasive in the domains of teaching, administration, management training and the economy. Thus, in the name of the historical, political and religious legitimacy of the Arabic language, the state reinforces the status of Arabic by interfering to support this language in its competition with French, in short by exerting a monopoly of the state in the linguistic market. The social forces that support this discourse are recruited from among the graduates of the universities providing traditional education, such as Al-Qarawiyyin in Fez, the Zaytouna University in Tunis and similar institutions in Algeria. It is also supported by the graduates of the Arabized public education, Arabist elites and fundamentalist elites.

Nevertheless, it would be erroneous to believe that the pro-Arabization discourse conforms solely to the convictions of traditionalist elites. Indeed, there is no open anti-Arabization discourse, and the defense and illustration of Arabization are inherent in *politically correct* discourse, as there seems to be quasi-unanimity on the need for Arabizing public institutions by substituting Standard Arabic for French. In fact, the

modernist elites generally develop the same discourse, even if the conditions and methods of Arabization are analyzed differently by different groups. For some modernist intellectuals, Arabization is a historical necessity that governs the development and cultural independence of the country. However, this is not so much to impose the archaic and rigid Classical Arabic, that of pre-Islamic poetry, as it is to create a modern Arabic language that is popular and scientific- a language whose spelling and grammar are renovated and which is able to convey science and technology (see Laroui, 1973).

The purpose of the discourse on/for Arabization is to ultimately legitimate Arabic as a language of modernity in order to support it in its struggle against French. This legitimacy is based on a variety of arguments:

(i) A religious argument: Arabic is the language of the Islamic religion, and, as such, it is considered sacred;
(ii) A historical argument: Arabic is the language of the national state;
(iii) A cultural argument: Arabic is the vehicle of the Arab-Islamic heritage; and
(iv) Finally, an ideological argument: Arabic is the symbolic cement of the Arab Nation.

If such is the essence of the representation of Arabic in the dominant discourse, it is necessary to compare the discourse with reality by examining the linguistic behavior of users in social practice, their attitudes, and their representations with respect to Arabization. Approaching the way the issue of Arabization is perceived and experienced by social actors provides valuable clues about the factors that promote this phenomenon and those that block it. In other words, not only does the success or failure of Arabization depend on the utopias of ideologists as well as the choices of policy makers and methodology designers, but the result of Arabization also ultimately depends on the state’s language policy choices and the subjects’ attitude, motivation and behavior.

Ultimately, the future of Arabophony seems to depend on the outcome of the process of Arabization. In its struggle for symbolic power, Standard Arabic benefits from the implementation of a strategy of legitimacy and an

institutional arsenal whose purpose is to ensure that Standard Arabic can regain its legitimacy by imposing itself as the revitalized and modernized national and official language. However, reality shows that although the process of Arabization has led to Arabizing broad sectors of the educational system and administration, it has not by the same token conquered the fields pertaining to mother tongues, nor has it begun to shake the positions of French in depth. A radical analysis of the policy of Arabization in the Maghreb postulates that this policy is in fact simply a politicking ploy used by the dominant groups to provide children from popular classes inexpensive Arabized training, one which does not allow access to socio-economic domains that provide power. Just at the same time, these self-same groups entrust foreign schools with the education and training of their offspring (Grandguillaume, 1983; Vermeren, 2001). This is another eloquent example of social reproduction strategy. This postulation may not be shared by those who affirm that a rational and efficient language policy can perfectly integrate the effective promotion of Arabic in a modernist view.

4. Francophony, the Super-Central Stratum

In the language market in the Maghreb, the languages of the colonial stratum, namely French and Spanish, are present alongside the national languages. The presence of French is imposed in the wake of colonization, which lasted from 1830 to 1962 in Algeria, from 1881 to 1956 in Tunisia, and from 1912 to 1956 in Morocco. In addition, the northern and southern areas of Morocco have also undergone the political domination of Spain, and, therefore, the symbolic dominance of Castilian. In this respect, the case of Morocco is unique in the Maghreb in that it has suffered two colonial languages; this case will be interesting for the sociolinguist who would want to work on the relationship between French and Spanish after the country's independence.

Broadly speaking, we notice that French has replaced Spanish in fulfilling the functions that are associated *de facto* with the first foreign language, but without Spanish altogether disappearing from the linguistic practices of the speakers who lived during the period of the Spanish protectorate. Consequently, Spanish witnessed its positions decline as a

working language in teaching, administration, media, as well as in economic and cultural life. Thus, the weight of Spanish has become in the postcolonial sociolinguistic situation that of a minor foreign language. Because of geographical proximity and shared history, the situation of Castilian is called to improve with the increasing weight Spain has been acquiring in recent decades in its relations with Morocco in the economic, political and cultural domains. Indeed, Spain is a major economic partner of Morocco; in addition, as a former colonial power in the region, this country is objectively a key player in resolving the Sahara issue through the involvement of broad sectors of the political class and civil society in the conflict. Finally, Spanish schools in Morocco, as is the case of universities and colleges in Spain, are attracting more and more Moroccan pupils and students. For all these reasons, Castilian continues to be present in Morocco, and there are indications that its position will be increasingly reinforced.

As for the presence of French, it obviously weighs heavily in the linguistic market because of the logistical force French enjoys at the economic, financial and political levels. Recall that France is a major partner in economic exchanges with the Maghreb countries and is most of the time the first supplier, the first customer and the largest foreign investor; it also top-ranks in terms of training Maghreb managers abroad. Note also that the largest Maghreb community residing abroad lives in France and, conversely, the largest French community outside of France lives in the Maghreb. These are all indicators that shed light on the privileged position French occupies in this region.

If the position of French in the market of symbolic goods does not actually reveal a strong dependence on France, it is at least an indicator of privileged relations with this country, as is shown clearly by the bilateral agreements of economic, technical and cultural cooperation as well as by strategic cooperation. In addition, Maghreb countries participate in the Conferences of Heads of State and Government of the countries sharing the use of French (Francophone Summits) and adhering to certain organizations which claim Francophony in the domains of politics, education, media, cinema, and legislature (Francophone Parliamentarians). France is also linked to these countries by the various agreements signed

between Maghreb universities and French universities. In addition to France, the other Francophone countries of the North, namely Canada and Belgium, maintain consistent relations with the Maghreb countries, a fact providing important support to the French language and culture.

In the Maghreb, the substantial presence of French is the result of a situation of dependence- dependence in interdependence according to the philosophy of the Francophony movement- which the Summit of Quebec (1987) defines as: "A common area the objectives of which are: cooperation, exchange, development, political dialogue which (the member countries) expect to achieve by means of solidarity and sharing." Francophony is also often interpreted as a guarantee enabling the poor Francophone countries to benefit from the aid of the rich Francophone countries at the level of economic, cultural and strategic assistance. The ins and outs of Francophony are thus of a political, economic and cultural nature, rather than being an exclusively linguistic matter. That is why some nationalist circles deem that French moves from the status of a language of colonialism to that of a language of imperialism (see Chikh et al., 1988).

As to the social actors, they are aware of the value of French in the job market; the social demand is very strong, but French paradoxically has changed in the secondary level of public education from a language of teaching to a single subject matter. As a result, the knowledge of French of baccalaureate holders in this type of education is elementary after all; this limits their chances of promotion through studies because, it should be recalled, French is the language that is exclusively used in scientific and technical higher education studies- the only studies enabling access to lucrative professions such as engineering, medicine, pharmacy, architecture, finance, business management, and so on. This, of course, gives advantage to the offspring of privileged backgrounds, including those of traditional elites that produce the pro-Arabization ideological discourse. In this connection, let us put forward a non-deceptive indicator, namely the high number of the Maghrebi population in institutions of French education; in Morocco, this number reaches 85% of the school population of these institutions.

The dominant position in the labor market is another indicator that shows the importance of French in the Maghreb, mainly in the sector of modern economics, in general, and that of services, in particular. As is known, a good number of higher education graduates in literature, science and technology have severely been affected by the employment crisis since around the 1980s. To remedy this situation, the state regularly undertakes a diagnosis of the teaching of languages in order to bring the necessary adjustments to satisfy the new socio-economic needs. Thus, finding out that school and university training is inadequate with respect to the needs of the job market led to calling for the need to reform education, mainly by improving the quality of foreign language teaching, especially French, introducing specialized tracks that are likely to produce operational managers, and promoting the creation of private institutions to alleviate the financial effort of the state (see Charte nationale de l'éducation et de la formation, 1999 (the National Charter of Education and Training)). These requirements are a reality that no unilingual discourse can circumvent, no matter how good the nationalists' intentions behind it are.

Thus, it appears that the historical weight of colonialism, which is explicit in the nationalist discourse, has less and less power over the consciences. It even seems that, five decades after independence, this ideological discourse is part of a strategy that aims at restricting access to modernity, top management and decision-making centers to elites trained in French or Francophone schools. This, it seems, is an indicator of the deciduousness of an independence utopia, that of social mobility via school- a school whose training is a fortiori devalued. Thus, we notice that the French/Francophone school plays the role of producing and reproducing elites, as is the case in all peripheral, formerly colonized societies where Francophony no longer concerns the mass of the educated population but rather the urban elites and their offspring. This certainly is a strategic asset in the ownership of economic and symbolic power and the closure of access to elite groups (see the case of Africa in Weinstein, 1990.)

5. Anglophony, the Hyper-Central Stratum

Anglophony constitutes the linguistic and cultural manifestation of the American imperial domination in the era of globalization. This state of

affairs is becoming predominant on a global scale even if other international languages like Hispanophony, Francophony, Arabophony and Lusophony are trying to preserve their positions on the chessboard of international languages.

The position of English in the language market in the Maghreb remains weak, but not negligible. Notwithstanding the fact that Morocco remains in the orbit of Francophony, English tends to play the role of the outsider in the linguistic competition with a view of serving as a vehicle for the transfer of technology and as a tool of appropriating modernity; and, as everyone knows, the transfer of modernity is accompanied by that of the cultural universe that has generated it by participating in the restructuring of the cultural model that imports it. It has often been reiterated, following Heidegger (1954), that any technique conveys metaphysics, namely an Anglo-Saxon metaphysics, just in the same way that French has introduced the French cultural universe to the colonies.

The Maghreb managers that were trained in the Anglo-Saxon tradition or that are open to the dominant international culture consider that access to modernity should not be the privilege of the French language and that this function should not be ascribed *ipso facto* to this language. Defending their material and symbolic interests, they reject Francophony, which transmutes into Francophilia. For them, English, by its *de facto* status of a universal language of communication and high technology, represents a larger, more substantial and more credible capital than the one French constitutes. The symbolic force of English stems from its dynamism at the international level, where it imposes itself as the universal language, relegating French to a marginal position. Some examples bear testimony to this: English is the primary working language of international organizations affiliated to the UN, UNESCO being one of the few organizations where the use of French still predominates. Some indicators, provided by the latter organization, confirm the primacy of English: 65% of scientific publications appear in English in comparison with 9.8% in French; even in Europe, 73 to 98% of high school students choose English as their first language as opposed to 17 to 30% who choose French.

A quick comparison of the power relations between English and French shows the unquestionable superiority of the former language. This finding has repercussions on the linguistic scene in the Maghreb, where English is slowly but surely building a market that is beginning to compete with that of French. In fact, English is imposing itself in a number of strategic fields, particularly education, the media and entertainment. In the domain of education, English is present in both public and private education. In public education, it is taught as a subject matter as of junior high school level, and in higher education, it is taught as a language major in the department of the English language and literature at the faculties of arts; it is also taught as an additional language in most institutes, schools and faculties. In private education, English is taught from preschool level in some institutions, from the primary school level in others, and generally in high school in most institutions. There are even private institutions where English is used as the language of instruction, especially those who adopt the Anglo-Saxon education system. In Morocco, with the creation of the Anglophone *Al-Akhawayn* University, we can say that the Anglo-Saxon system of education has made a significant step forward. In addition to these institutions, the *British Council*, the *American Language Center* and *Amideast* offer English language courses for both young people and adults seeking to improve their language. English (or American) books are present in towns where universities are based and are distributed by bookstores affiliated to American and British cultural centers or by a few specialized bookstores. These books are used by specialists in exact, medical, natural and human sciences. In the domain of mass media, English is used especially in print and television media broadcast abroad, mainly from Great Britain and the USA. Journals found on the market are imported from these countries; in addition, there are some local periodicals. The English language and English songs are now present on the radio stations which broadcast daily programs. Listeners also receive English broadcasts through foreign radio stations like the *BBC World Service* and *Voice of America*. Finally, the Anglo-American language and culture are disseminated through the TV channels that submerge the Maghreb by interposed satellites like *World Net*, *CNN*, *Eurosport*, *Super Channel*, *Sky One* and so on. In major cities, English has also appeared in radio and television commercials, and many signs are written in English.

Competition between French and English is thus real, and the presence of English tends to be conspicuous in domains and practices that have hitherto been occupied by French, which implies that these two languages are, at least potentially, in a situation of conflict. In the coming decades, it is likely that the position of English will gain more strength in the context of the liberalization of the Maghreb market with respect to foreign products under free trade agreements. This objective situation has led some to believe that opting for French as the medium of openness is fighting a rearguard action (cf. Moâtassime, 1992).

6. Sociolinguistic Dynamics

As described above, the language market in Morocco is characterized at the same time by diversity and stratification. The diversity of the languages that are present is the result of the historical evolution of the region and the stratification is the product of the interplay of political decisions, the impact of economic forces, the impact of the ideological choices of the cultural elite and their consequences for the behavior of social actors. In the symbolic field of competition between the languages that are present, the effects resulting from the colonial order persist by continuing to impose French as a super-central language, while those of the imperial order make the language market facts more complex by integrating Morocco into the era of globalization through the progressive domination of English as a hyper-central language. Arabic, the central language, manages somehow to resist, backed up by the ideological apparatuses of the state but undermined by its weak presence in the sectors of economy and modern technology. As for Amazigh, the local and peripheral language, it is timidly enrolled in a process of revitalization that is barely at its beginnings. Its structural weaknesses and the threats of the environment seem to be stronger than the forces which it relies on and the opportunities offered to it by the evolution of the socio-political situation.

The sociolinguistic situation is obviously not static. New political, social and cultural deals create a dynamics that drives change in the relations amongst languages within the linguistic market. We will examine in particular the weight and value of Amazigh in this new context.

Chapter 2

Diagnosing the Situation of Amazigh

1. Diagnostic Evaluation

The diagnostic evaluation of the situation of Amazighlanguage will be tackled herein from the perspective of its *weight* and its *value* in the language market in Morocco. Applied to language, the concept of *weight* is certainly a metaphor in the sense that it is transferred from a circumscribed disciplinary field to another equally circumscribed one. Indeed, sociolinguistics' borrowing from physics, specifically the field of weights and measures, is coupled at the semantic level by an ambivalence that goes hand in hand with the approximation of use when moving from the register of concrete matters to that of abstract ones.

With a view to contributing on a theoretical and empirical basis to establishing the diagnosis of the present situation of Amazigh, I propose this study as a contribution to the analysis of the descriptive and explanatory adequacy of the concept of *weight* as applied to languages.

The case examined here is that of Amazigh, an indigenous language in the Maghreb and the first language of the Amazighophone Diaspora. At the sociolinguistic level, it is the mother tongue of an estimated mass of more than ten million inhabitants in Morocco, according to the 2004 census results. Supported by a social movement which is affirming itself, it is a language which is going through a process of rebirth and revitalization in a context where the conditions for preserving and promoting it are improving significantly. However, paradoxically, it is a language which has the *de facto* status of a minoritized language; it is split into dialects, faces

strong competition from (colloquial) Moroccan Arabic, and is excluded from fields providing power and social prestige. Accordingly, determining its *weight* turns out to be problematic: An important symbolic and subjective weight with respect to the Amazighophone community as opposed to a weak and concrete objective weight on the language market in Morocco.

The qualitative analysis proposed in this study will lead us, on the one hand, to examine the conceptual validity of the notion of the *weight* of a language and, on the other hand, to examine the case of Amazigh by evaluating its weight according to the strengths and weaknesses it presents, the opportunities available to it, and the threats awaiting it in its environment. An analytical framework is advocated that takes into account the intrinsic and extrinsic parameters to assess the *qualitative* weight of a language.

The questions we will try to answer are the following:

(i) How is the metaphor of the *weight* of a language to be interpreted?
(ii) What is the degree of descriptive and/or explanatory adequacy of the concept of the *weight* of a language?
(iii) What are the relevant parameters in order to evaluate the *weight* of a language? and
(iv) Finally, what is the *weight* of Amazigh on the language market?

2. The Weight of Languages: An Ambivalent Metaphor

To speak of the weight of a language is to transfer the concept of weight in the physical sense from the material domain to the symbolic one, and in a certain way from the quantitative domain to the qualitative one, and from the measurable domain to the subjective one. Indeed, if the weight of an object can be quantified in terms of precise and standard units of measurement, the weight of a language is difficult, if not impossible, to quantify at least in terms of discrete, objective, reliable, and commonly accepted units. This being laid down, it happens to everyone to say or to hear a sentence like “this person carries weight”, or “this person

does not carry weight", or yet "this person is weighed down by the years," and so on. No one will find fault with this, even though the term weight is used in a metaphorical sense. If this is so, it is because part of our linguistic competence is a common rhetorical grammar which allows us to transfer the semes of one field to another, and those of one register to another. In order to stress the importance of the metaphor in social life, it would not be unnecessary to add that rhetorical figures have the advantage of providing an infinite power to linguistic creativity, to the delight of writers or simply lovers of the language. Now, the domain of linguistic and artistic creativity is precisely that of the evocative and aesthetic appreciation.

Therefore, we may assert that talking about the *weight* of a language is to use the lexeme *weight* in a derived sense, one that is different from the first meaning which is a concrete one. Thus, by checking our dictionaries, we learn, according to *Le Robert* dictionary, that *weight* is defined as "the force exerted on a material body, proportional to its mass and the intensity of gravity at the point where this body is located." There is consensus on the fact that, in the case of a language, it is not easy to measure its force on the basis of *the consequence of the mass and the intensity of gravity* because, quite simply, the language is not a physical entity. So, when we talk of the *weight* of a language, we must recognize that we use this term in a metaphorical sense. However, the metaphorical use of the word *weight* requires at least one common seme between the first meaning, that is the concrete meaning it has, as in the phrase *the weight of a truck* for example, and the derived meaning it has in the phrase *the weight of French in Morocco*. However, a strict semic analysis shows that the common denominator between the semes that comprise the first and the derived meaning is not *a priori* obvious.

Thus, the metaphor of *weight* applied to language is ambiguous, inducing two opposite semantic values. Indeed, to say of a language that it carries *weight* or that it gives *weight* to its users means that it represents a *force* at the economic level, that it provides *benefits* and *privileges*, that it has a positive value in the system of social representation, and that it bestows social prestige. In contrast, to say of a language that it *is a weight on* or *a burden to its users* means that it is a handicap for them, that it is detrimental to them or that it causes harm to them. Thus, to say of a

language that it *carries weight* means that it occupies a position which allows it to be competitive on the language market, while the expression *this language does not make weight* means that it does not withstand comparison with other languages.

To spin a metaphor, let us add that a language can also be a *dead-weight* to its users if it is unnecessary or embarrassing. An example is when the users live their mother tongue as a stigma impeding social mobility or an indicator of segregative distinction which consciousness experiences as a misfortune or a fatality. Moreover, language can also have the status of a *counter-weight* if it strikes a balance between two strong languages which are in conflict. The *weight* of the language can, thus, either induce an advantage or be the source of prejudice; therefore, it may be either a strength or a weakness depending on whether the users benefit from it or undergo it as a handicap.

If the metaphor of the *weight* of the language induces the transfer of the meaning of the word *weight* from the realm of denotation to that of connotation, this does not necessarily imply that the *weight* of the language is a matter of subjective appreciation and that it cannot be measured, weighed and hefted, to some extent. We are prone to think that the concept of *weight* applied to language is a common sense notion which reflects a reality, namely that the world's languages do not have the same importance, *value*, or *weight*. For example, it is obvious that, internationally, English has more *weight* than the other languages as a result of multiple factors, including those related to economy, technology, the media, etc. The *weight* of a given language is, nevertheless, neither absolute nor immutable, but rather relative. Thus, while English may have more *weight* than French at the international level, it certainly has less weight in France itself. This means that endogenous factors also determine the weight of the language.

3. Parameters of the Weight of Languages

In adopting the concept of the *weight* of a language in a metaphorical sense, we may state that this weight is defined as the value of a language, a value determined by the intersection of a bundle of parameters, namely

structural ones which are intrinsic to language and structural ones which are ecological, given that the degree of valorization assigned to languages on the basis of applying these parameters varies according to the status and functions of the languages concerned.

3.1 Intrinsic Parameters

The category of intrinsic parameters includes the specifications proper to the language, especially those concerning status, corpus, functions, uses, cultural production and translation. Let us examine these different parameters in turn.

3.1.1 Status

The language may have a *de jure* or *de facto* status. The *de jure* status is defined in the constitution of the country while the *de facto* status is acquired by the interplay of social forces in the socio-economic and cultural life. One can elaborate to determine whether status as a parameter is intrinsic or ecological in nature. Herein, we consider it to be part of the specifications of the language while knowing quite well that this specification is the result of a political decision, itself reflecting the status of power relations at the social level.

3.1.2 Corpus

The corpus of the language includes the internal structures of the language in terms of its grammar, namely at the level of phonological, morphological, lexical and syntactic structures. These structures can be, or not be, planned and standardized, but it is clear that the *weight* of a language with a standardized corpus is superior to that of another language whose structures have not undergone any planning work.

3.1.3 Functions

Languages may have different functions. They can be used as native, vernacular, vehicular, mythical, transactional, or liturgical languages as well as referentiary languages and languages of teaching, etc. (see Gobard, 1976). It is certain that the sociolinguistic functions do not have the same

social value; accordingly, as opposed to common functions, socially prestigious functions assign an important *weight* to languages (see Stewart, 1970).

3.1.4 Uses

Language is defined primarily as a means of verbal communication; that is why all the world's languages have a primarily oral use, with only a minority of languages also used in writing. Thus, as orality is a property common to all languages, fostering the value of a language does not ensue from it. In contrast, scripturality, or graphic use, gives *weight* to written languages.

3.1.5 Cultural Production

Language is not only a tool for communication and socialization but a medium for the production of intangible culture as well. The culture conveyed by a language gives *value* and *weight* to the language in question, and the importance of this *weight* varies with the quantity and quality of this production, including the oral expressions of cultural heritage and the activities of modern authors in the fields of literature, drama and cinema.

3.1.6 Translation

Translation is an activity which reflects the dynamism of a culture through the linguistic tool. It is, thus, clear that a language which makes it possible to translate into other languages the science, technology, arts and letters of a given community to make them available to other communities is a language with an audience at the international level and is, therefore, a language endowed with an appreciable *weight*. Similarly, the language which is the target of the translation is enriched at the linguistic level, especially at the lexical level, in the same way that the culture of the speakers of the language is enriched and developed by the contribution of the cultures of other communities. Thus, translation can be bidirectional, i.e. a language can be the source language and the target language, and in both cases, translation enhances the *weight* of the language.

Note in passing that, although related to the environment, status and function, cultural production and translation are considered in this analysis as parameters which are intrinsic to the language. Clearly, it is possible to debate whether these factors are not social, and consequently external, factors as well. Herein, they are conceived as internal factors insofar as they characterize languages in a distinctive fashion and intervene as attributes and specifications of the sociolinguistic profile of a given language.

3.2 Ecological Parameters

The category of structuring ecological parameters encompasses factors related to the environment, the main ones being history, geography, politics, economics, demography, religion, education, media, technology, publishing and epilinguistics.

3.2.1 History

History provides the historical background that determines the evolution of a language, its emergence as an instrument of power, its legitimacy by the political power, its imposition through the ideological authorities of the state, and its standardization through state institutions. It is obvious that a language *served* by history has more *weight* than one which is not endowed with *historical legitimacy*.

3.2.2 Geography

Geography provides the space in which a language is spoken. This space intervenes by its more or less vast dimensions and more or less hospitable nature to endow language with *weight*. Thus, an international language has more weight than a national language, which itself has more *weight* than a local or regional language.

3.2.3 Politics

Politics intervenes either to consolidate and impose a language or to minoritize it, depending on whether the law, including the constitution and state institutions, recognizes and uses it or, contrariwise, marginalizes or

ignores it. Society, through its own structures, may have a positive or negative impact on the political status of a language.

3.2.4 The Economy

Through its various sectors, the economy helps to provide a given language with an appreciable *weight* and price on condition that the language serves as a working tool in the modern sector, in particular in highly performing sectors; on the contrary, if the language is used only in the informal economy or in fulfilling tasks considered mundane, its *weight* and *value* are insignificant. The *weight* of the language also varies depending on the socioeconomic position of the users who *sustain* it.

3.2.5 Demography

Demography is a parameter which contributes to giving a more or less important *weight* to a language depending on how substantial the mass of its speakers is. Demolinguistic data, thus, constitutes an indicator against which the languages existing in the national or international community can be weighed.

3.2.6 Religion

Religion is a parameter that can mark some languages, particularly those with a mythical or liturgical function which assigns a spiritual value. This is the case of the languages that were used to convey religions, including Vedic, Hebrew, Latin and Arabic. In the communities in question, the language is considered *sacred* and, accordingly, enjoys a prestige that endows it with a considerable *weight*.

3.2.7 Education

School is an institution which plays a fundamental role in the education, training and socialization of the individual. Formal education, thus, represents a domain that assigns to the language of instruction and training a *weight* which is superior to that of a language which is taught only as a subject matter; the latter, however, has in its turn a *weight* that is superior to that of a language which is not taught at all.

3.2.8 Media

The media hold more and more sway on society. Thus, the language conveyed through the different means of communication, like the press, radio and television channels, enjoys more prestige and benefits from a larger audience than a language excluded from the media.

3.2.9 Technology

A language which is used in high technology has more *weight* than one used in the traditional sectors of production. The new information, communication and education technologies provide considerable opportunities for the dissemination and expansion of languages. As a result, those transmitted through the Internet, multimedia, software packages, computer programs, etc. are immediately integrated into the new culture and, thus, gain *weight* in comparison to others. It is, therefore, clear that the *digital divide* plays a decisive role in the distinction between the languages of digital technology and the others. Consequently, technology watch is increasingly becoming a need for languages which do not want to pay the price of technological backwardness.

3.2.10 Publishing

Publishing is a powerful means of disseminating written languages. Accordingly, the *weight* of a language varies depending on the number of annual publications and on their *quality*, bearing in mind that scientific publications give more *weight* to languages than do those of a literary or entertaining nature. Even with the development of digital publishing, traditional publishing remains a factor that gives prestige to the published languages. Thus, the *weight* of a language is judged on the basis of the number and quality of publications in that language, the number of readers, and so on.

3.2.11 Epilinguistics

The representations, attitudes and motivations speakers may have regarding languages give the latter a more or less important weight depending on whether the *value* of these epilinguistic factors is positive or

negative. The speakers' linguistic *habitus* is marked by the impact of these factors in such a way that the languages are evaluated, ranked and prioritized according to their *weight* in the epilinguistic imagination of the linguistic community (see Bourdieu, 1982).

4. Amazigh in the Weighing

Despite its ambivalence, the concept of the *weight* of languages can serve as a tool for analyzing the relationship between languages in the context of the dynamics of sociolinguistic situations marked by the diversity of languages. Its adequacy will be tested herein according to its ability to diagnose the sociolinguistic situation of Amazigh and to explain the position this language occupies in the language market in Morocco.

Thus, we will proceed to the diagnosis of Amazigh drawing upon the SWOT analysis to examine, on the one hand, the strengths and weaknesses of Amazigh, and, on the other hand, the opportunities available to the language and the threats awaiting it, on the basis of the application of the intrinsic parameters and the ecolinguistic parameters defined above.

4.1 Intrinsic Parameters

To assess the *weight* of Amazigh on the basis of intrinsic parameters, consider its internal specifications.

4.1.1 Status

In Morocco, Amazigh has an official status recognized in the constitution and is, as a result, already integrated in some public institutions, namely education and media; thus, it is getting endowed with political and social prestige. So, we can say that Amazigh has the status of a *de facto* national language, as well as the status of a *de jure* official language besides Arabic. From this perspective, since the constitutionalisation process of Amazigh is at the beginning, the *weight* of Amazigh is still inferior to that of Standard Arabic, the official language, but it is getting superior to that of Moroccan Arabic, which is confined to the status of a *dialect*.

4.1.2 Function

The nature of the functions of a language can either bestow *weight* on it, provided they are prestigious, or on the contrary deprive it of weight, if these functions are common and perceived as socially prejudicial. Concerning the functions of Amazigh, they fall under the common ones as the language serves as a means of communication within the family and amongst the native speakers of the same dialect. What is likely to give *weight* to Amazigh at the symbolic level is its function as a mother tongue. Indeed, besides Moroccan Arabic, Amazigh is one of the two major mother tongues of the Moroccans. The function of the mother tongue gives *a priori* an appreciable force to Amazigh, and, therefore, *weight* in front of the non-mother tongues because of its valorizing representation in the *habitus* of speakers. The referentiary function (see Gobard, ibid.) is also attributed to Amazigh. With regard to the representation of speakers, it has a function related to identity and culture.

4.1.3 Corpus

It is obvious that the languages whose structures have benefited from codification and normalization procedures have more *weight* than the others. Now, Amazigh is such a dialectalized language that some researchers are skeptical about the very existence of an Amazigh language and talk about a plurality of Amazigh languages (cf. Galand, 2002). The main dialects are Tarifit spoken in the north-east region, Zenati in the east, Tamazight in the central and south-east region, and Tashlhit the south-west region. The dialectalization of Amazigh hinders mutual intelligibility between Amazigh-speakers from remote regions. However, Amazigh has gradually been acquiring the status of a normalized language with the planning activities of the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture (IRCAM). The process of standardization of Amazigh is underway through the planning of its corpus.

4.1.4 Uses

The uses of language pertain to scripturality and/or orality. Obviously, a language with a writing tradition has a superior *weight* in comparison with one that serves only as an oral medium to ensure communication between

its users and to allow the transmission of the cultural heritage of the community and its historical experience.

Amazigh is fundamentally an oral language. Note, however, that there is a recent tendency to write in Amazigh. This tendency was initiated by writers and civil society activists and is relayed to the level of teaching. Amazigh has a specific spelling: the Tifinagh alphabet. The codification of this alphabet endows Amazigh with the prestigious status of a written language, albeit a modest one at the moment. The establishment of the Tifinagh alphabet in teaching, publishing and signs increases the *weight* of Amazigh, but without making of it yet a language with a written tradition.

4.1.5 Culture

Cultural production, both in quantity and in quality, is an important parameter in the discrimination between languages. A language that conveys an important written and oral intangible cultural heritage certainly has more *weight* than another language which does not; similarly, a language that conveys a written literature of recognized quality has more *weight* than a language serving as a means for the exclusive transmission of oral literature. As mentioned earlier, Amazigh is a primarily spoken language. As a result, the intangible culture it vehicles consists of the types known in oral tradition, namely poetry in its various forms, storytelling, the proverb, the riddle, and so on. Over the past few decades, a written literature has emerged, introducing genres such as the novel, the short story and drama. Confined to small circles, this young literature has a limited audience.

4.1.6 Translation

The *translation* parameter also enters in the distinction between languages with *weight* and those with less or no weight at all. This parameter applies bidirectionally, the language being possibly the source and the target of translation at the same time. Thus, there is an increase in the *weight* of a language that provides linguistic resources permitting, on the one hand, to translate scientific or literary works from other languages

and, on the other hand, to provide a scientific production and a literary heritage worthy of being translated into other languages.

In the field of translation, Amazigh is just beginning to serve as a *medium* of translation from Arabic and French, and this activity essentially concerns literary works. In the other direction, there are translations of pieces of oral literature into French, Spanish, English and German within the ethnological tradition framework. Recently, selected pieces of Amazigh literature are translated into Arabic. Nevertheless, this translation activity remains marginal.

Examination of the intrinsic parameters applied to Amazigh shows that the specific *weight* of the language remains after all weak, despite positive developments in terms of expanding the repertoire of sociolinguistic functions and access to graphic uses.

4.2 Ecological Parameters

The ecological parameters depend on the environment and have a structuring impact on the language. The environment can either provide opportunities to the language or be a source of threats. The opportunities potentially carry additional *weight* while the threats are, on the contrary, a source of weakening the language and, hence, of a decrease in its *weight*. Let us consider some parameters that are related to the environment and that apply to Amazigh.

4.2.1 Politics

The political factor plays an important role in assigning *weight* to languages. In fact, it is the political institution which ultimately confers on a language the political power which imposes it as a working language in state institutions such as parliament, public institutions, justice, education, etc. Language policy, which is a facet of the general policy of the state, is reflected in public policies in terms of the legitimate use of languages to reinforce or weaken a language depending on the degree of legitimacy it enjoys. As we have seen above, Amazigh has recently acquired the status of official language in the Moroccan constitution. This privilege indeed

contributes to increase the weight of Amazigh, and could be an important factor in the political game.

4.2.4 The Space and Domains of Use

The space in which a language is used constitutes an important parameter in assigning *weight* to a language. The *weight* of the space depends on its vastness in terms of square kilometers and its quality in terms of the prestige of the sociolinguistic domains of language use.

The linguistic map of Morocco shows that Amazigh is used in at least half of the national area, especially in rural mountainous and pre-desert areas. However, with internal migration, there are more and more Amazighophones in urban agglomerations. In terms of social spaces, Amazigh is used in the family, in the street, on the work sites, at school, on the radio and on television. In addition, with the emergence of identity feelings in juvenile circles, Amazigh is spoken in Amazigh militancy circles, in cultural meetings and in fora in towns and in the countryside. Nonetheless, the domains providing prestige and *weight* such as the parliament, justice, administration, television, university, etc. are more or less domains restricted to Standard Arabic- the official language. From this standpoint, the *weight* of Amazigh is important in terms of geographical space but remains ancillary when we consider the quality of the social spaces in which it is used.

4.2.5 History

History is undoubtedly a strong parameter which gives *weight* to languages. Regarding history, Amazigh is a weak language in that history has not kept a memento of its being adopted as the language of any dynasty, including Amazigh dynasties like the Almoravids, the Almohads the Merinids and Beni Wattas (see Terrasse, 1949). However, the fact that Amazigh is the only indigenous language of Morocco gives it a certain symbolic *weight* at least in the imagination of the community of native speakers.

4.2.6 Religion

In countries where there is a state religion, as is the case of Morocco with Islam, the religion parameter is important in the assignment of value and *weight* to language. In Muslim states, the weight of Islam is considerable, and, therefore, the weight of Classical Arabic as the language of the Koran is very important, given that the prevailing culture is theocentric in nature.

Amazigh is used as a liturgical language in Amazighophone areas whose speakers are not conversant with Classical Arabic, especially in fulfilling religious rituals. However, the fact remains that this language is considered inferior to Classical Arabic given that the latter is considered as a sacred language, while Amazigh is basically the linguistic code of the profane world.

4.2.7 Education

The *weight* of a language is proportional to the importance of its place in teaching, education and training. The history of Amazigh as a subject matter of education is recent, as it goes back only to 2003. The teaching of this language is gradually extended to the whole country and is expected to cover the different levels of the educational system, unless there is a change in perspective that could only be detrimental to the entire country. More recently, Amazigh studies have been introduced into the university both at the level of undergraduate studies and that of the Master's degree in some Faculties of Arts. Therefore, we may say that the *weight* of Amazigh in education, which was previously nil, is becoming gradually significant; Amazigh does not compete with Standard Arabic or French, but it is at any rate ahead of Moroccan Arabic, its closest competitor in the language market.

4.2.8 New Technologies

The application of new technologies to languages is a parameter of a considerable *weight* in the context of the digital revolution. It is thus clear that a language benefiting from this technology is ahead of those deprived of it. Amazigh has a relative experience in digital technology. Indeed,

thanks to the effort of codification undertaken by IRCAM, the Tifinagh script has received digital coding; as a result, there is now a standard Tifinagh graphic system recognized by the ISO-Unicode organization, namely the Unicode Tifinagh-Ircam alphabet. There are currently tens of fonts and an Amazigh keyboard which allow for word-processing. Studies are underway to ensure the sorting operations and the integration of the Tifinagh spelling and the Amazigh language in operating systems and on the Web. This means that the digital *weight* of Amazigh remains weak.

4.2.9 Media

The presence of a language in the media, the press and audiovisual productions gives it *weight* by making possible its diffusion and, thus, increasing the margin of exposure of the speakers to the language. Of course, the importance of the media varies depending on whether it is a radio channel or a TV channel, or a regional, national or international TV, etc. The *Web* also plays an increasingly important role to the point of supplanting traditional media.

Amazigh has a modest presence in the media. There is a press which comprises one or more pages in Amazigh, but there is no press fully written in Amazigh. Similarly, there is an Amazigh radio channel and a few Amazigh programs in the public TV channels. However, the position of Amazigh in the media has become less precarious since the launching of the *Tamazight TV Channel* in 2010, which confers on it an appreciable weight and value.

4.2.10 Advertising

The use of languages in print, radio or audio-visual advertising confers on them considerable importance to the extent that this language use provides a better dissemination and subjects the readers and listeners to a greater exposure. The advertisers' use of certain languages and not others naturally contributes to buttress or reduce the socio-economic power of these languages and, *ipso facto*, their *weight*.

The presence of Amazigh in advertising is very weak. We notice from time to time spots in Amazigh, especially when regional promoters are

involved. Thus, it is clear that advertising does not yet contribute to increasing the *weight* of Amazigh.

4.2.11 Film Production

The use of a language in film production helps to expand the range of uses of this language by providing it with a wider dissemination and especially in a domain which confers an important socio-cultural prestige. Amazigh is strongly present in video film production but is very poorly represented in cinematographic production.

4.2.12 Publishing

Even today, publishing is an important factor in the promotion of languages, be it paper publishing or digital publishing. From this perspective, it is understood that oral languages are penalized as are the languages with a mostly illiterate majority of speakers. In this domain, despite a slight tendency to be increasing, publishing remains a domain which Amazigh has only weakly invested.

4.2.13 Epilinguistics

There are no epilinguistic studies specifically dedicated to Amazigh; however, we have some indications drawn from the macro-sociolinguistic research on the attitudes of the speakers of the languages spoken in Morocco (Gravel, 1976; Boukous, 1979, 2000b; Sadiqi, 1991). This research reports a rather negative perception and attitude of Moroccans towards Amazigh. Generally, it appears that the image Amazigh has is that of a "rural", "popular" language conveying "folklore." This image has in all likelihood changed since the recent adoption of a policy which somewhat favors the promotion of Amazigh. To delineate this new image, surveys should be carried out of a representative sample of the Moroccan population. What seems observable at first glance is the positive impact of the change of the socio-cultural status of Amazigh over the last five years.

At the end of this weighing operation, it appears that the weight of Amazigh in the language market in Morocco is weak. However, a trend emerges in favor of this language in the wake of the somewhat balanced,

new linguistic and cultural policy undertaken by the state, a policy which is part of efforts to democratize political life, institutions and society. This new policy is reflected by the creation of an institution specifically dedicated to the promotion of Amazigh culture, the IRCAM. This institution has as a mission providing counsel to the King on all matters relating to Amazigh. It participates alongside the ministerial departments in executing public policies, conducting the necessary studies for the planning of the structure of the language, designing pedagogical materials and incorporating Amazigh in the audiovisual field. The achievements made so far, although still in their infancy, seem to augur a better future for Amazigh, despite the conspicuous slowness in the implementation of appropriate public policies, particularly in education and communication-information. At any rate, they have helped to give some *weight* to Amazigh by subtracting it (for good?) from the red zone, namely that of the languages threatened by insecurity and obsolescence.

5. The Adequacy of the Evaluation

The analysis proposed in this chapter aims to test the epistemic validity of the notion of the *weight* of a language. Its purpose is to diagnose the current sociolinguistic situation of Amazigh. On the one hand, the analysis has examined the metaphor of *weight* of language, showing that it can contribute to an adequate, qualitative perception of any language. Then the analysis drew upon an approach inspired from SWOT analysis in terms of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats. On the other hand, the analysis has led to the *weighing* of Amazigh by the application of the aforementioned matrix using intrinsic and ecological parameters which are convenient to the consideration of the Moroccan language market. It thus appears that the *weight* of Amazigh remains weak, despite an environment offering more opportunities than threats. In turn, this could positively *impact* intrinsic factors in terms of planning the status of the language and its corpus. The new environment in which the Amazigh culture and language are evolving will reasonably induce a qualitative change in the representation and the attitude of speakers, which will gradually increase the *value* and *weight* of Amazigh as its repertoire in the field of symbolic production in Morocco expands.

In addition, examination of the notion of *weight* of a language, on the basis of the analysis of the case of Amazigh, yields at least four arguments in favor of its theoretical and methodological relevance:

(i) At the epistemic level, the concept of the *weight* of the language going beyond the status of a concept of common sense, namely *weight* as a mass and quantity, to a concept having both a theoretical, explanatory adequacy and an operational, descriptive adequacy, requires articulating it on the basis of a theory of *value* not only in the structuralist sense but in a political economic sense;

(ii) The *weight* of a language is not absolute but relative. In fact, the *weight* of the language is not measured in absolute terms, in itself and for itself, but in relation to other languages in competition in the language market;

(iii) The corollary of the above is that the *weight* of a language can evolve over time depending on the change affecting the ecology of languages and the impact of this evolution on factors internal to language; and

(iv) Finally, in terms of methodology, in establishing the assessment of the *weight* of a language, the sociolinguist had better use a *compactified* analytical model which combines a qualitative approach, like the one conducted here, and a quantitative approach, like the one carried out by Calvet and Calvet (2007).

Chapter 3

Language Contact and Dependence

- *Allô, ça va ?*
- *ça va lħemdu lillah, bixir?*
- *bixir!*
- *is illa unẓar γ tmazirt?*
- *šway, šway.*
- *yak kulši bixir*
- *wa lillahi lħemd, ma xaṣṣana siwa annaḍar fi wažhikum al-ɛaziz...*
- *O.K. bye bye !*

(Telephone conversation)

1. Language Contact: A Universal Phenomenon

1.1 The Impact of Language Contact

We speak of language contact every time two or more languages are used alternately by the same people. The most obvious form of language contact is bilingualism; however, this does not necessarily mean that these people master both their first language and a second language equally well. In fact, this situation is rather exceptional; in any case, it characterizes individuals rather than entire communities. Language contact, however, has important consequences at the level of the whole community, in that the second language affects the first language by enriching it with new words, new expressions, cultural elements that are unheard of, and so on.

The intromission of a second language in the community, even on a reduced scale, can cause changes in the structure of the host language and a rearrangement of its functions. Generally, while the first language gets its vocabulary diversified through borrowing, its functions get reduced by the adoption of a more prestigious, second language introduced by agents that can be either individuals or defined social groups.

A key factor in language contact and its durability is the structural proximity of the languages involved. Thus, the more these languages converge in their structures, the more intense the impact of one language on another and the more important linguistic change, and vice versa. In addition, a number of external factors in language contact related to the behavior of the individual himself with respect to the language contact intervene in the nature and degree of contact. These include particularly: the linguistic competence and the ability to maintain the languages in contact separate; the relative mastery of either of the two languages; specialization in the use of each language depending on the topic and the interlocutor; the modes of learning each of the languages; attitudes to and representations of these languages; the symbolic value attached to these languages and the cultures they convey; and, finally, the tolerance or intolerance of code-mixing.

Language contact necessarily conveys culture contact. Indeed, language contact does not only cause a change in the structures and functions of languages, in particular those of the weaker language, but it also introduces into the behavior of individuals and social groups new cultural habits; accordingly, it contributes to changing, altering and enriching their original culture. Besides, the individuals and groups that introduce a second language into their linguistic practices are more often than not subject to a process of cultural change which can lead to acculturation.

Language contact and linguistic interdependence go hand in hand in characterizing the history of mankind. Indeed, it has always been the case that there are strong nations with prestigious languages and weak nations with less prestigious ones; the degree of dependence of the latter on the former varies from one area to another and from one period to another. Thus, the major languages in human history- at least those established in Western history- were successively Greek during Antiquity, Latin from Late Antiquity to the 14^{th} century, Italian from the 15^{th} century to the 16^{th} century, French from the 17^{th} century to the 18^{th} century and English from the 19^{th} century to the present.

Thus, most universal knowledge has always been concentrated in a small number of nations, especially scientific knowledge, technological knowledge and the great discoveries. This knowledge is naturally transmitted by the languages of these nations through books; currently, it is also transmitted through magazines, films, audiovisual media, and, thanks to the revolution in media and information technology, this is happening at a global level.

In this context, it is natural that bilingualism is a phenomenon that is widely distributed, especially within nations which are symbolically and materially dependent on strong nations at the economic, technical, cultural and strategic levels. Bilingualism, thus, entails primarily imposing on the former nations the languages of the latter, which then become prestigious symbolic products.

The language of the main global power and of wider communication and modern culture, English is nowadays undoubtedly the universal

language of our time. The other strong languages, namely French, Spanish, German and Russian are put to the test. Besides, it is interesting to note that the strength of a language is not always proportional to the economic power of the nation speaking it. The examples of German and Japanese, on the one hand, and Spanish, on the other hand, are instructive in this regard. The former are the languages of economically strong nations, but they have limited international influence; and the latter is the language of an average nation, but one which is laden with history. This means that long duration is a decisive factor in the value of a language.

After the triumph of globalization and liberalism, the era of the utopia of endogenous and self-centered development is apparently bygone. In order to provide their citizens education, culture, training and information, weaker nations become open, willy-nilly, to international exchange and, by the same token, to the languages in which this exchange takes place. Now, the acquisition of the major languages implies the development of bilingual groups within weak nations so as to allow their inclusion in the universal scene and *polysociality* through integration in the multiplicity of networks susceptible of meeting differentiated needs. As a corollary of this opening to the strong nations, the expansion and diffusion of major languages is promoted, which is detrimental to minority languages.

This state of affairs explains the concomitance of two trend movements, that of the universality of bilingualism and that of linguistic nationalism. The former movement proceeds from the *effect of intercourse* (de Saussure, 1975), which promotes inter-linguistic communication by a greater integration of weak nations in the process of globalization. The latter movement, however, which originates in *parochialism*, is consistent with the irredentist logic of national or local particularities and of the preservation of identity in its singularity and uniqueness.

1.2 Approaches to Language Contact

The fragments of the telephone conversation and the transcribed letter used as an epigraph to this chapter are a perfect illustration of the contact involving the languages that coexist in the Moroccan linguistic market. Who produces this kind of utterances? Why do speakers practice language

mixing? How do these languages intersect? These are the issues to be investigated in this chapter and the next.

In this chapter, the issue of language contact will be studied from a macroscopic point of view. First, we raise the general issue of language contact and the conditions which generate it; then, we survey the way this issue is treated in the linguistic literature. The aim is to show how language contact, while being a universal phenomenon, concerns first of all societies which are dependent at both the material and symbolic levels, and therefore at the linguistic level.

If we consider now the issue of language contact at the microscopic level, the problem of the speaker becomes a practical problem, that of being able to communicate with his environment efficiently, for which purpose he must master a language that enables him to achieve this goal. If this language, namely his mother tongue, does not allow him to express whatever he wants to communicate because of its shortcomings, in particular the ability to describe new realities, he has recourse to a different language which is able to overcome these shortcomings. He then practices bilingualism.

However, if the speaker does not master a foreign language or if he sticks to speaking only his first language, he is in a position where he is forced to borrow words, expressions or even structures from other languages. Linguistic borrowing is thus a process of transferring lexical items from one language to another. The transferred element can operate functionally and broadly in the context of a whole monolingual community, in which case it is a *'langue' borrowing*; the transferred element may also be employed in an idiolect by one or more bilingual individuals for purposes of accuracy, expressiveness or prestige in communication, in which case it is a *'parole' borrowing*.

The choice to speak a second language may have personal or professional reasons and is, therefore, a marginal phenomenon in communities which have strong languages, but this does not apply to dependent communities. Indeed, with the exception of developed nations like Canada, Belgium, Switzerland and Paraguay, in which bilingualism or

multilingualism is institutional, we can say that language contact concerns essentially peripheral social groups. In fact, they represent a perfect illustration of communities in which borrowing, linguistic change, and the mixing of languages is normal and commonplace. This situation is the consequence of both their economic and cultural dependence, and of their *sui generis* heterogeneity at the ethnic, social, cultural and linguistic levels. In fact, in addition to the inherent complexity which characterizes them, these societies are usually invested by the material and symbolic products imposed by the exchange with the core groups. Among the symbolic products, language has a privileged position because it is the required code through which the other products are conveyed.

Ultimately, language contact acquires a worldwide dimension in the context of globalization; nonetheless, it concerns dependent communities more than strong nations.

2. Reasons for Language Contact

Language contact occurs under conditions which bring into interaction two or more languages in the social practice of speakers. When speakers use their mother tongue, this leads them in general to borrow morphological patterns, words or phrases from another language for reasons related to lexical gaps in the first language, expressive needs, or yet social prestige.

The conditions under which language contact operates have a direct impact on the level and durability of its effects at the linguistic and cultural levels. These diverse conditions can be geographical, historical, socio-economic, demographic, psychological and cultural.

2.1 Proximity

The geographical proximity of the two linguistic communities can provide conditions for economic, cultural and matrimonial exchanges between individuals or even groups speaking different languages. Since these exchanges occur naturally through the linguistic medium, it is natural that the two languages in contact intersect, act on one another, and

exchange words, phrases, structures, and so on. The contact between the Tekna Arabophones and the Ait Baâmrane Amazighophones in southwest Morocco is an example of such exchanges. The linguistic contribution resulting from exchanges due to the proximity of languages or dialects is called an *adstratum*.

2.2 Colonization

Conquests, invasions and colonization are military events that have economic, cultural and linguistic effects. Indeed, by imposing their own law, the dominant impose, by the same token, their language on the dominated. The latter language acts in a lasting and profound manner on the dominated language. This is how in Africa, for example, English, French and Portuguese have become official languages in many countries, even after independence; as a result, situations of bilingualism and diglossia which promote linguistic borrowing are generated.

It may happen that a subjected group is assimilated by a more powerful community in such a way as to replace its first language by the language of that community. While disappearing, the first language generally leaves a substratum in the second language in the form of residual imprints, namely words, calques or articulatory habits. This is how the particular development of Gallo-Roman, as opposed to other Romance languages, is explained by the Celtic substratum prior to the conquest of Gaul by the Romans. In the same vein, we can assume that the phonetic and lexical marks of the Jbala dialect, compared to other dialects of Moroccan Arabic, are due to the Amazigh of the Rif substratum, the Jbalas being Arabized Amazigh people (Colin, 1920).

It may also happen that, after a more or less long contact period, the language of the conquering group becomes finally phagocytosed by the language of the conquered community because of its cultural superiority or because of the law of numbers; the first may leave traces in the second in the form of a *superstratum*. For example, Frankish invasions have left Germanic elements in the structure of the Romance languages. Latin, which was the language of power in North Africa during the Roman conquest, left relics in Amazigh in the form of a lexical superstratum. For

example, the words *asinus*, *urti*, *ager*, *pullus*, *pirus*, *acerbus*, and *quereus* are still used Amazigh in forms that are barely altered. These are respectively: *asnus* “ass’s foal”, *urti* “garden”, *iger* “field”, *afullus* “chicken”, *tafirast* “pear”, *azebbuj* “wild olives”, and *akarruš* “oak”, etc. (see Laoust, 1920).

2.3 Migration

Languages can also be in contact due to socio-economic conditions like migration. As a matter of fact, rural exodus and external emigration compel entire groups of people to leave their territory to settle in that of others. Accordingly, their language gets into contact with the language of the host community, and its structures and functions change. For example, the mother tongue of the Maghrebins who emigrated to Western Europe, which may be Amazigh or Arabic, is undergoing a significant process of change from generation to generation. Because it does not master the second language well, the first generation uses mostly the mother tongue, whose phonology, morphology and lexicon are almost totally unaffected by contact with the host language. In contrast, the second generation, which is better integrated into the European society through school, work and public life, frequently uses the host language, and, thus, tends to massively introduce into its mother tongue terms, expressions and structures borrowed from the host language. As to the third generation, it generally has only a passive knowledge of its mother tongue, and the language of communication is the host language, which replaces the mother tongue in almost all its functions.

2.4 International Exchange

Today, we are witnessing an unprecedented expansion of the area where English is used due to its quiet imposition on a global scale through international exchange, the spread of the media culture as well as the technolects of computer science, management and in general high technology. This dynamism of the English language has an impact on other languages as the latter borrow from it a good number of words, phrases and structures.

Liberalism in terms of language is not always a good practice. In France for example, there is a tendency to protect the French language and culture against English, which is reflected in the concept of *cultural exception* and which takes a legal form with the Toubon law. The latter aims at strengthening the language of France by ensuring its development, its purification of borrowings and calques, and its diffusion by the Francophony movement. We might as well consider the examples of Turkish purification by removing Arabic words at the time of the reform of the Turkish language and that of the Arabization program in the Maghreb, which tended to eliminate from Arabic foreign terms and expressions, including those borrowed from French.

These examples show that the linguistic field is very sensitive due to symbolic issues related to the identity question and, beyond it, to the construction of the state and society. Thus, if language contact can cause purist and prescriptive reactions that tend to close the language market in front of anything that is foreign and exogenous as well as in front of the other, which allegedly corrupts an original purity, then the language issue is not liable to a technically-oriented approach only. Of course, we may discuss the adequacy of these measures to curb a historical tendency and especially the efficiency of measures based on the preservation of identity, a notion, if any, that is ambivalent.

2.5 Demographic Superiority

The demographic superiority of bilinguals in a given community promotes language contact and favors the reduction of the mass of monolinguals. For example, Ireland is essentially a monolingual country because the proportion of Anglophone monolinguals compared to bilinguals is about 50 to 1, while in South Africa 73% of the population is bilingual, and the proportion of monolinguals is low, 15% for English and 11% for Afrikaans. In the United States, if Spanish is growing so quickly, it is undoubtedly because of the demographic growth of the Spanish-speaking population.

2.6 Language Disorders

The effects of language contact can also be manifest at the individual level in a benign or severe pathological form. Thus an individual with language disorders that are due to a dysfunctional interiorization of languages in contact in his brain can show delays in acquisition or *dysphasia*, which is characterized by the poverty of the lexicon and the rudimentary nature of the syntactic structure of the sentences produced. In contrast, the discourse can be characterized by a pathological volubility or *logorrhea*, which makes discourse incoherent and elusive as in the case of *jargonaphasia*. In the case of bilinguals, language disorders of this type lead patients to produce a language akin to *pidgins*, in which utterances involve a mixture of languages.

3. Language Contact: A Contingential Phenomenon

Generally viewed rather as a *contingential* phenomenon, language contact is an issue which lies on the margin of the strong paradigms of current linguistic research. Several reasons lie behind this. The most important of these seem to be linked to the very development of linguistics, namely the *a priori* of theoretical linguistics, the methodological complexity of the analysis of the phenomena engendered by language contact, and the lack of research in linguistics in the countries primarily concerned, namely developing communities.

3.1 Theoretical Approach to Language Contact

The founder of linguistics and of the structuralist approach to language, F. de Saussure, drew a major distinction between *internal linguistics*, which studies the language in itself and for itself, and *external linguistics*, which examines language in relation to extralinguistic factors. Now, issues relating to language contact are envisaged by Saussure in terms of diversity and variation related to time and space, which is why he lines up facts related to language contact in external linguistics, namely diachronic linguistics and dialectology. We realize that, for Saussure, borrowing and the variation caused by language contact are facts of parole; they disrupt langue as a stable system by introducing change, and, thus, their study is outside the scope of *real* linguistics, *internal linguistics*. This option has,

nevertheless, not prevented Saussure from providing an interesting clarification on: (i) the diversity of languages, (ii) the effect of geography on the coexistence of languages, and (iii) the action of time on dialectalization and language change, and particularly on the contradictory effects of intercourse and parochialism, which are factors of convergence and divergence, respectively.

The dominant theoretical linguistics at the present time, Transformational Generative Grammar, initiated by Chomsky, focuses on the study of the competence of the ideal speaker-hearer belonging to a presumably entirely homogeneous community. By this choice, it does not give importance to the verbal behavior of real speakers grappling with the complexity of communication within concrete language communities that are by definition heterogeneous. Therefore, one should not expect a significant contribution from generativists in terms of the study of phenomena related to language contact. Nevertheless, the power and relevance of the technique for analyzing linguistic structure developed in the framework of Generative Grammar has proved to have an undeniable adequacy in terms of diachronic analysis (see King, 1969) and the comparative analysis of the structures of languages (see El Moujahid, 1995).

3.2 The Importance of the Study of Language Contact

Since at least a century, the scholars concerned with linguistic science have noticed the importance of language contact and the linguistic variation it leads to. Indeed, at the end of the last century and the beginning of this century, the study of language contact was a major concern of linguistics at the time. It was conducted under the theory of *strata*, which examined the causes, modes and consequences of the mixing of languages in the context of comparative dialectology. Thereafter, a large step has been made in understanding the phenomenon of language contact thanks to American structuralists, to whom we are indebted for the seminal works in the analysis of phonetic, lexical, syntactic and semantic interference between languages in contact (Bloomfield, 1933; Weinreich, 1953; Haugen, 1956).

In the structuralist vein, Weinreich (ibid.) produced a remarkable work on language contact. He showed that this phenomenon is manifested by bilingualism and the interference it induces in the structure of the languages in contact, in particular in the performance of individuals who alternate between languages. According to him, the interference reflects deviations from the standard spoken language because of an approximate mastery of this language. It surfaces at different levels of the grammar of the language, especially the phonological, morphological and lexical ones. The importance of this work lies not only in linguistically analyzing interference but also, especially for a sociolinguist, in shedding light on the external factors that enable and regulate language contact. In fact, this phenomenon has social, psychological and cultural dimensions which make of it an object that is liable to a multidisciplinary analysis. The share of the sociolinguist in this analysis is important because it is up to him to examine the social context of the contact of languages, their functions, their status, as well as the attitude and motivation of speakers towards them. These factors are important to grasp the extent of language contact and predict the direction of change.

The phenomenon of language contact begins once again to draw the attention of researchers for obvious reasons related to the globalism in the flow of technology, culture and, accordingly, languages. Within disciplines as diverse and complementary as linguistics, sociology and psychology, these researchers work in the same perspective, that of capturing the actual linguistic behavior of speakers.

4. Language Contact in the Maghreb

4.1 Historical Review

The Maghreb region has at all times been an area of contact, clashes and mixing between peoples, their languages and their cultures. The Amazigh stock has thus received Punic, Greek, Latin, Arabic, French, Spanish, and so on, and the reception is still open. Bilingualism has, so to speak, always been practiced in the region. At the time of Massinissa, the elites spoke Libyc, Punic, Greek and Latin; and at the time of Khair-Eddine, the Amazigh, the elites speak Arabic and French.

If bilingualism, multilingualism, diglossia and polyglossia have thus been the fate of the Maghrebins since antiquity, language contact is nowadays amplified, resulting in the mixture and alternation of codes, lexical borrowing, syntactic calquing and phonetic interference. These phenomena are observable in the behavior of language speakers and reflect the degree of mastery they have of the languages in contact. In Morocco, Amazigh- Colloquial Arabic bilingualism is the most common situation, since it concerns the speakers whose mother tongue is Amazigh and who are in contact with Arabic in their socio-professional activities, especially in the city. Bilingualism can be *coordinate* or *compound*: It is coordinate if speakers alternately use the languages according to the situation, interlocutor, topic, and so on; and it is compound if the speakers mix languages. As to multilingualism, it is the case of speakers who master, besides their mother tongue and Colloquial Arabic, other languages, namely Standard Arabic, French, Spanish or English.

4.2 Language Contact and Bilingualism

A first comment is due here. If Amazigh-Colloquial Arabic bilingualism is a mass phenomenon, one can only talk about multilingual individuals but not about a multilingual community, i.e. we consider multilingualism only in the case of individuals who have a proper mastery of the various languages, both in terms of comprehension and production. Indeed, there are individuals who use a second language with greater ease than they do their mother tongue, especially for certain communication needs which the mother tongue is objectively incapable of performing, not so much because the speaker does not master it well, but mainly because of its structural limitations, particularly at the lexical level.

It can happen as well that speakers who learned a second language in a reductionist manner, i.e. one limited to a given register, are not able to use it in a creative and spontaneous manner in all situations of communication. For example, the students who have learned French only at school, somehow *in vitro*, have a limited knowledge of this language. These students may certainly be able to read and understand literary texts, analyze complex structures, present orally an issue relating to their major, write a research paper etc.; but, in many a case, they are caught off guard

when they are in situations of real communication. Conversely, young Maghrebins born in France, for example, use the language of young people in a similar way their French counterparts use it. They have a native-speaker competence at least as far as this type of dialect is concerned; however, they are hardly able to speak *standard French* because they lack this competency, which is acquired by and in the schools, unlike the other competency for *the French of the youth*, which is learnt and is improved in the street. Do these young people master their mother tongue by the same token? Field studies carried out in Morocco, Holland, France and Belgium show that the situation is far from this, since the speakers are pragmatic in adopting the dominant language in their host community and are in many cases disloyal to the mother tongue (see Boukous, 1995).

4.3 Language Contact and Diglossia

Thus, it appears that the mastery of linguistic competence is not at all sufficient if we consider that the speaker uses language as a functional tool to deal with the diverse communication situations where he is required to interact with other speakers. Taking as a starting point the remark that learners master only a restricted code, efforts are concentrated in the field of teaching foreign languages on the learning of communicative competence to overcome the negative effects of a teaching which stresses linguistic competence. However, it is very difficult to create in an exolingual situation the natural conditions of using a second or foreign language *in vivo* in order to make possible the acquisition of a native-like competence.

In fact, in the current state of the linguistic situation in Morocco, we know that the mastery of the languages of the school, be they second languages or foreign languages, is after all approximate in the schooled population; in any case, it only rarely equals the mastery of native-speakers in speaking, writing, comprehension, or production. In fact, the speakers do not show an equal mastery of the languages they use, on the one hand; and they use these languages in different social contexts and assign them different functions depending on their symbolic value in the linguistic market, on the other hand. That is why we characterize this kind of situation less in terms of bilingualism or multilingualism, as appropriate, than in terms of diglossia or polyglossia (Ferguson, 1959). Finally, in many a

situation, the mastery of languages is so approximate or even deficient that the performance of speakers is marred by the interference of the structures of other languages. We obviously cannot expect more from the majority of the Moroccan population when we know that the illiteracy rate is officially around 47% according to the 2004 census. This explains that the speakers, with the exception of urban elites, are not really able to practice bilingualism or diglossia, but rather the alternation of languages and more often their mixture, which gave rise to the phenomenon known as *ɛaransiya* or French-Arabic mumbo-jumbo.

The phenomenon of language contact is so familiar in the linguistic landscape of the Maghreb that much research has been devoted to the study of its different manifestations. Examples include work on Moroccan Amazigh in contact with Arabic (Taifi, 1997; Koucha, 1983; El Aouani, 1983), on Moroccan Arabic in contact with French (Zaidan, 1980), on Algerian Amazigh (Kabyle) in contact with Arabic and French (Kahlouche, 1992) and on Tunisian Arabic (literary and dialectal) in contact with French, Italian, English, Spanish and Turkish (Baccouche, 1979).

It appears ultimately that language contact is an old phenomenon in human history. The linguistic change it causes is at the same time universal, natural and inevitable (Aitchison, 1991). The latter follows naturally from the exchange of physical goods and symbolic products between communities. As this exchange is in an unequal relationship depending on the power of the community with which the products are identified, the languages through which it is carried out via verbal communication are themselves in a situation of inequality. Accordingly, the weak languages borrow from the strong ones more heavily than they give them. For this reason, they are worked from the inside by the exogenous factors while deploying strategies to preserve their structures through the integration processes these elements undergo.

Chapter 4

The Vagaries of Intergenerational Transmission

1. Language Attrition

Linguistic change is a phenomenon that occurs in all societies and particularly those characterized by the diversity and plurality of languages. Therein, it takes different forms resulting from language contact, namely borrowing, interference, code-mixing, code-switching, bilingualism and diglossia. Competition between languages in contact can also lead to attrition (see Valdman, 1997), language loss or even language death (Dorian, 1981; Crystal, 2000). Attrition occurs in the context of contact between languages that have unequal power, strength, weight and value. It is manifested by a gradual weakening of the language through a combination of factors that are external and internal to the language, including status minoritization, institutional marginalization or exclusion (from school, media, and culture), reduction of the number of speakers, low economic weight, the lack of intergenerational transmission of the language and culture, the reduction of sociolinguistic functions and uses, the shaking of linguistic structures by contact with stronger languages, and the gradual substitution of a second language for the first one. The process of attrition-disappearance of languages is widely attested in the life of the languages of the world. Examples are available through the history of humanity as is revealed by the quasi-disappearance of prestigious languages like Old Egyptian, Aramaic, Ancient Greek and Latin.

If the languages of great civilizations like these have ceased to live, how can one explain the fact that less fortunate languages like Amazigh have been able to survive to the present day? In an attempt to explain this

enigma, we can postulate that Amazigh has in some way survived because of its marginality, which is due to the remoteness of Amazighophone communities from the centers of power dominated by the institutional language and culture legitimated by the government. It could thus be argued that Amazigh owes its preservation essentially to its isolation in mountainous regions such as the Atlas Mountains, Kabylie, the Aures and Nefousa, or in desert areas such as Siwa, Ghadames, Gourara, Mzab, Dades, Draa and Ahaggar. This isolation has helped to limit the contact of Amazigh with the various languages whose dominance has been or is still exerted in the Amazighophone domain such as Punic, Latin, Arabic, French and Spanish. To the geographical factor, one can probably add the paucity of economic exchange because of a mode of production based on self-sufficiency, the particularity of Amazigh communities, the preservation role played by women, institutional communalism, the inertia of rural and nomadic societies, and finally the affirmation of identity feelings as sensitive awareness.

However, not all Amazighophone communities have escaped contact with the languages established by the various powers. This is particularly the case of the Amazighophone groups that settled in urban agglomerations and communities isolated in the plains and plateaus where there is a strong presence of Arabophone or Arabized communities. In this situation of language contact, Amazigh occupies, most of the time, a weak position because of its status as a minoritized language in the language market; this contributes to the change of its phonological, morphological and lexical structures as well as its sociolinguistic functions.

The decisive factor in linguistic change that leads to attrition is undeniably the language contact favored by urbanization. In fact, the change is of considerable magnitude in societies marked by an intense process of urbanization, as is the case of the Moroccan society. Indeed, since the 1960s, Morocco has been experiencing an unprecedented growth of its urban population. According to the different censuses, it rose from 29.15% in 1960 to 35% in 1971, to 42.7% in 1982, and from 51.4% in 1994, to 52% in 2004. This geometrical progression is explained by various factors including the natural increase of the urban population, rural exodus, the expansion of urban perimeters, the urbanization of rural villages, and the

creation of new urban centers. The causes of the migration flow to urban centers are essentially socio-economic. These can be summed up in the crisis of the traditional rural economy, population growth, under-equipment in rural areas in the fields of health, education and recreation, and the proletarianization of the poor, rural people. These factors are the principal indices of the economic dependence of the rural society. At the cultural and linguistic levels, the urbanization of the rural population is accompanied by a process of adaptation to the cultural and linguistic model that prevails in the city. As a result, a certain form of linguistic and cultural assimilation takes place through the progressive attrition of the rural linguistic varieties, after the acquisition of the prestigious urban varieties (see Boukous, 1995).

2. Structure, Evolution and Social Context

The description of the structures, functions and evolution of languages usually conceals the social context in which they are used. This approach is common to both structuralist and generative linguists. The latter, especially, set as the object of study of linguistic theory an ideal speaker-hearer who belongs to a completely homogenous community and who has a complete mastery of his language (Chomsky, 1965), i.e. ultimately a speaker who is disembodied, idealized and ahistorical. Now, the speaker is a social agent whose linguistic behavior is determined by his involvement in social interaction and communication networks. Similarly, language is not an out of context entity or a uniform code, but a symbolic product which is subject to social dialectic. Therefore, it is used in a differential way depending on the individual properties and social anchoring of speakers and according to the structure of the language market (see Bourdieu, 1982).

Labov (1976) refuted the axioms of this linguistics with respect to the theoretical and methodological necessity of the idealizations it makes (ideal speaker-hearer and ideal linguistic community). Labov notes that this type of linguistics is questionable when it is approached from the perspective of the pairing of theory to data. In fact, the model that emerges from the intuition of the native speaker-hearer- an intuition corresponding most of the time to that of the analyst himself- does not

always match the actual performance of the speakers, although they belong to the same linguistic community.

To establish an alternative model, it is necessary to work on data from everyday speech. In fact, empirical studies carried out by Labov (ibid.) showed that nearly 98% of the data collected *in vivo* are well-formed sentences while Chomsky considers *a priori* that daily language is ungrammatical. In addition, these studies have shown that there is no *completely homogeneous* speech community; rather, it is the lack of social and stylistic variation in the performance of speakers that represents an abnormal situation.

Here, I would like to contribute new materials and additional arguments to show, on the one hand, how the *performance* of the native speaker may present a number of gaps and deficiencies in a situation of language contact. On the other hand, I would like to show that, in order to study linguistic change in dynamic synchrony, studying language in the socio-cultural context is a task which is not only possible but also necessary.

3. On the City as a Crucible of Attrition

Through evaluating the urban child's mastery of the mother tongue, I would like to examine, as part of this general problem, the linguistic change that the Amazighophone community is undergoing. It seemed interesting to comprehend this change in children because of the particular position this group of speakers occupies in the community. For one thing, the child is confronted within his family, in the street, and at school with languages that differ from his mother tongue in their structures and their status. For another, the language of the child generally represents the *chronolect* which is most affected by the impact of linguistic innovation and is, therefore, the weakest link in the process of change.

In order to analyze the changes Amazigh is undergoing, I will try to answer the two following questions:

(i) To what extent does the Amazigh urban child master his mother tongue?

(ii) What are the linguistic particularities of the Amazigh variety the urban child speaks?

The mastery of whichever language is a particularly complex issue to unravel; I would admit, however, that a child who masters his mother tongue is able to communicate with this language in situations of natural communication. The point being made here concerns in theory the mastery of both linguistic competence and communicative competence.

This study has a twofold objective, one descriptive and the other theoretical. The former consists in identifying the compensatory strategies that subjects use to ensure communication in a first language they master fairly well, while the latter consists in showing the importance of the socio-cultural conditions involved in linguistic change.

4. Methodology

The analysis conducted here is a case study couched in a micro-sociolinguistic approach. It is executed on the basis of a field survey carried out in the city of Agadir and in certain rural communes in the surroundings. An initial investigation examined 13 children (Boukous, 1981), and the second one, conducted more recently (2007, unpublished), involved 37 more children, representing a sample of 50 subjects. The ages of these children (35 boys and 15 girls) range from 5 to 13 years. They are all native speakers of Tashlhit (the Amazigh of south-west Morocco). The target group is composed of 35 children residing in urban areas, and the control group includes 15 children residing in rural areas.

The data collection instruments used are the test and the interview. These are designed to assess the degree of mastery of the linguistic competence and communicative competence of urban Amazigh children, respectively. The procedure of data elicitation used to obtain the desired forms from the children consists in:

(i) Presenting images when it comes to colors and pets;
(ii) Submitting a graphical representation to obtain cardinal numbers;

(iii) Proposing conjugation exercises to elicit verbal and pronominal paradigms;
(iv) Recording natural conversations; and
(v) Recording a narrative.

5. Linguistic Aspects of Attrition

The process of attrition of Amazigh concerns both extralinguistic aspects and ones related to the structure of the language. The latter aspects will be our focus.

5.1 Grammatical Competence

The assessment of the grammatical competence of urban children is undertaken on the basis of the analysis of the *discrepancies* which characterize the phonology, lexicon and morphology. These *discrepancies* are interpreted as *deficiencies* insofar as they are indicative of gaps in the linguistic competence of speakers and are generally absent in the realizations of the subjects in the control group. In fact, the average score achieved by the rural children is 96.3%, while that achieved by urban children is 28.4%, which means that less than half of the population of urban children masters the grammatical competence of the mother tongue.

5.1.1 Phonology

The phonology of Tashlhit (the dialect of Agadir) comprises an interesting parameter in that the nuclear position in syllable structure may be occupied by a consonant, regardless of its manner of articulation (see Boukous, 1987). This particularity is reflected in the performance of subjects in the control group but is breached in that of the subjects of the target group. Consider the following items:

Control group	Focus group	
kšm	*kšem*	“enter”
ls	*les*	“wear”
bdd	*bedd*	“stand up”
asrdun	*aserdun*	“mule”

We notice that in the pronunciations of the subjects belonging to the group of rural children, the syllables do not have a vocalic nucleus, and it is assumed that the nucleus is a consonant. In those of the urban children, however, the vowel schwa (*e*) is inserted to form the nucleus of the syllable. This articulatory habit is probably acquired along with Colloquial Arabic, the insertion of schwa being a necessity of the phonotactics of the language (Benhallam, 1982).

5.1.2 The Lexicon

Questions about the lexicon cover the following four notional fields: pets, the human body, counting and colors. The average scores concerning vocabulary are 23.3% and 94.6% for urban and rural children, respectively.

5.1.2.1 Pets

The pets which the test focused on are the following ones:

the cow, the bull, the bullock; the goat, the billy goat, the kid; the ewe, the ram, the lamb; the hen, the rooster, the chicken; the female cat, the cat, the kitten; the bitch, the dog, the puppy; the jenny, the donkey, the ass's foal; the mule, the male mule, the hinny; the mare, the horse, the colt; the she-camel, the camel, the calf.

The scores achieved by the subjects are 35% for urban children and 96% for rural children. Generally, the answers of urban children are marked by gaps and errors manifested by lexical gaps, approximations and borrowing.

a. Lexical gaps

The lexical gaps take several forms:

(i) Ignorance of certain forms:

The names of the females fall into this category. Should this happen, the child tends to fill the lexical gap by adopting the name of the corresponding male, which then functions as a generic term or hyponym. Examples are the masculine form *aydi* "dog" used instead of *taydit* "bitch" or *asrdun* "male mule" instead of *tasrdunt* "mule".

(ii) Ignorance of the names of the young animals:

In this case, the gap is supplemented by the method of compounding, which is to postpose the generic determinant *mẓẓin* "small" according to the following *pattern*: generic + *mẓẓin*. Thus, we have: *aydi mẓẓin* "little dog" for "puppy" (*ablbbuz* or the variant *aħlbuz* in adult language) and *aɣyul mẓẓin* "little donkey" for "ass's foal" (*asnus* in adult language).

b. Lexical approximation

Lexical approximation is shown by the maintenance of a name belonging to an earlier stage of lexical acquisition. An example is *abaqaɛ* used for *tili* (var. *tahruyt*, *tala*) "ewe", *izimr* (var. *aħuli*, *aɣla*) "ram", and *alqaɛ* (var. *alqaɣ*) "lamb".

c. Lexical borrowing

To overcome his ignorance of the vocabulary of his mother tongue, the child resorts to borrowing from languages with which he is in contact.

Some loans operate as xenisms, i.e. the borrowed terms are not subject to any alteration in the host language. For example, *žžmel*, *lħuli*, and *lbɣel* which mean "camel", "ram", and "male mule", respectively, are borrowings from Moroccan Arabic. Some animals are referred to using xenisms borrowed from Standard Arabic as the child has learned them at school. For example, *kutkut* "chick" and *faṛas* "horse" are borrowed from Standard Arabic, and *lakur*, *laɣôd* and *kalkül* from French, meaning respectively, "the courtyard", "the round" and "calculus".

Other loans are integrated into the structures of the host language. Sometimes, the child uses some borrowed lexical forms after subjecting them to formation rules specific to the structures of his mother tongue. Thus, the integrated loanword becomes productive by enabling lexical creation in the host language. This creation operates chiefly on the basis of adapting the loanword to the nominal morphology of the language. An example is *tažmlt* "she-camel", obtained from the loanword *žmel* instead of *taṛamt* (var. *taṛɛmt, talɣmt*). The loanword *tažmelt* is said to be a hybrid; it is derived according to the general rule of forming the feminine, singular

noun in Amazigh- *ta + masc. sg. root + t*- by a process of prefixing the morpheme *ta* and suffixing the morpheme *t* to the masc. sg. noun *žmel* borrowed from Moroccan Arabic.

5.1.2.2 The Human Body

The list of lexical items related to the human body contains 20 terms. Realizations of these vocabulary items are classified below from the highest to the lowest degree of mastery:

Target form		Control group %	Focus group %
“head”	ixf/agayyu	100	83.7
“hand”	afus	100	83.6
“mouth”	imi	100	83.8
“eye”	ṭiṭṭ	100	78.4
“face”	udm	100	75.7
“belly”	adis	100	74.3
“ear”	amẓẓuɣ	100	67.4
“tongue”	ils	100	63.3
“tooth”	$ax^{w}s$	100	53.5
“finger”	aḍaḍ	100	47.7
“knee”	afud	100	46.8
“nose”	tinzar/tinxar	100	41.2
“chest”	idmarn	100	40.5
“hair”	azzar	92	24.8
“back”	tadawt	88	20.2
“shoulder”	taɣruṭṭ	95	14.4
“heel”	awrz	97	12.7
“ankle”	tawlẓit	82	08.7
“chin”	taqsmart	78	01.8
“eyebrows”	timiwa	72	00.0

The scores achieved by the focus group show that human body vocabulary is only modestly mastered; nevertheless, the members of the control group have a better knowledge of this vocabulary.

5.1.2.3 Numbers

The test on the cardinal numbers (1-10) made it possible to notice that the score of urban children is 57% correct answers; on the contrary, rural children achieved a score of 93%. The following data show the extent of the deficiencies:

Number	Model		Realization		
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.	%
1	*yan*	*yat*	*waħed*	*weħda*	15.2
2	*sin*	*snat*	*itnani*	*itnani*	16.4
3	*kraḍ*	*kraṭṭ*	*tlata*	*tlata*	27.3
4	*kkuẓ*	*kkuẓt*	*ṛbεa*	*ṛbεa*	45.1
5	*smmus*	*smmust*	*xemsa*	*xemsa*	45.1
6	*sḍis*	*sḍist*	*stta*	*stta*	46.2
7	*sa*	*sat*	*sebεa*	*sebεa*	52.7
8	*ttam*	*ttamt*	*tmenya*	*tmenya*	54.3
9	*ttẓa*	*ttẓat*	*tsεud*	*tsεud*	62.1
10	*mraw*	*mrawt*	*εešṛa*	*εešṛa*	63.6

We notice from reading this table that the numbers 1 to 3 are mastered by the majority of urban children; however, beyond that they rely heavily on numbers borrowed from Arabic. Recall that in so doing, they align with the other Amazigh dialects that are strongly affected by massive borrowing from Arabic (Tarifit, Tamazight, Taqbaylit, etc.)

5.1.2.4 Colors

The score obtained by the urban children is 4% correct answers, while the little rural ones have achieved a score of 95%. In the performance of urban children on the six names of colors that are targeted by the test (red, yellow, green and black), five are most often referred to by using loanwords from Moroccan Arabic (MA). The following table provides both the forms used and the frequency of use:

Borrowing	MA model	Amazigh	
aħmṛi	*ħmeṛ*	*aẓg^{w}g^{w}aɣ*	"red"
aṣfri	*ṣfer*	*awṛaɣ*	"yellow"
axḍri	*xḍer*	*azgzaw*	"green"
akħli	*kħel*	*asggan*	"black"
aẓerqi	*ẓreq*	*aẓrwal*	"blue"

The borrowings are morphologically integrated into the Tashlhit dialect in conformity with the following pattern: *a + the loan radical + i*. Note that the initial morpheme *a* in Amazigh works as a nominal prefix used to form the masculine singular; the final morpheme *i* in Moroccan Arabic is a suffix of determination (relations, membership, quality). The created word is, accordingly, the result of a hybrid derivation by the affixation of mixed morphemes (schwa deletion is a phonetic effect with no morphological bearing.) Note that about half of the informants used the loan *byeḍ* instead of *umlil* "white".

5.1.3 Morphology

The questions concerning the morphology relate to the following paradigms: Independent personal pronouns (IPPs) and the conjugation of the verbs *ls* "wear" in the perfective, *sawl* "speak" in the imperfective and *kšm* "enter" in the imperative.

Scrutinizing the test on the morphology showed that urban children master their mother tongue less than do their rural counterparts. As a matter of fact, the scores achieved are 33.4% for the former and 33.5% for the latter.

5.1.3.1 Independent Personal Pronouns

The test on the paradigm of IPPs revealed that rural children master this paradigm better than do urban children; their respective scores are 100% and 35%.

In the realizations of some subjects, the independent personal pronouns (IPPs) have undergone two types of alteration: The first one is

related to reducing the number of pronominal forms, and the second to confusing them with the modalities of other classes.

(i) Reduction of IPP Forms

To view the differences between the model system (Amazigh) and that of the form used (borrowed from Moroccan Arabic) according to the degree of frequency (%), we present the two next to each other in the following table:

Person	Gender	Number	Model	Form used	%
1		sg.	*nkki*	*nkki*	100
2	masc.	sg.	*kiyi*	*nta*	35.8
2	fem.	sg.	*kmmi*	*nti*	40.2
3	masc.	sg.	*ntta*	*huwa*	45.4
3	fem.	sg.	*nttat*	*ntta/hiya*	38.6/54.7
1	masc.	pl.	*nkni*	*ħna*	57.2
1	fem.	pl.	*nknti*	*nkni/ħna*	38.9/59.5
2	masc.	pl.	*k^wnni*	*ntuma*	43.2
2	fem.	pl.	*k^wnninti*	*k^wnni/ntuma*	37.4/62.3
3	masc.	pl.	*ntni*	*huma*	65.2
3	fem.	pl.	*ntnti*	*ntni/huma*	39.4/67.2

According to data in this table, the performance of urban children is marked by important lacunae. These are manifested in particular by borrowing from Arabic and the neutralization of the gender contrast in favor of the masculine.

(ii) Confusion of Pronominal Classes

In the performance of the paradigm of IPPs, we also note the use of pronouns belonging to other paradigmatic classes. Thus, in some cases, it is the class of indefinites (Ind. P.) which replaces IPPs, especially in the first and second persons plural. In this connection, note that the morphemes postposed to the indefinite *kullu* are affix pronouns functioning as direct objects and that there is gender neutralization in the second person of the plural.

Person	Gender	Number	Model	* Form	%
1	masc.	pl.	nkni	kullu yaɣ	21.4
1	fem.	pl.	nknti	kullu yaɣ	23.2
2	masc.	pl.	kwnni	kullu kwn	16.5
2	fem.	pl.	kwnninti	kullu kwnt	09.3

In other cases, there is the substitution of demonstrative pronouns for IPPs, especially in the third person singular and that of the plural. This substitution is probably due to the particle *n*, which indicates the lack of a referent as shown in the following correspondences:

Person	Gender	Number	Model	* Form	%	
3	masc.	sg.	ntta	ɣwann	26.4	'that one'
3	fem.	sg.	nttat	xtann	28.2	'that one'
3	masc.	pl.	ntni	ɣwinn	37.6	'those ones'
3	fem.	pl.	ntnti	xtinn	39.8	'those ones'

Taking into consideration the above, we would theoretically have the following substitute system which would include independent personal pronouns (IPP), demonstrative pronouns (Dem. P.), and indefinite pronouns (Ind. P.):

Person	Gender	Number	Pronoun	Class
1		sg.	nkki	IPP
2	masc.	sg.	kiyi	IPP
2	fem.	sg.	kmmi	IPP
3	masc.	sg.	ɣwann	Dem. P.
3	fem.	sg.	xtann	Dem. P.
1	masc.	pl.	kullu yaɣ	Ind. P.
1	fem.	pl.	kullu yaɣ	Ind. P.
2	masc.	pl.	kullu kwn	Ind. P.
2	fem.	pl.	kullu kwn	Ind. P.
3	masc.	pl.	ɣwinn	Dem. P.
3	fem.	pl.	xtinn	Dem. P.

5.1.3.2 Conjugation Paradigms

At the level of the conjugation test, we can notice once more that the scores obtained by the rural children are far superior to those of urban children, 96% as opposed to 32%, respectively. Two types of errors should be noted here, namely confusing verb stems and syncretizing person indices.

a. Confusing verb stems

Consider first the erroneous forms produced by the subjects in the perfective and imperfective paradigms.

(i) ls "dress" in the perfective

Person	Gender	Number	Model	Form used	%
1	masc.-fem.	sg.	lsiɣ	lsiɣ	100
2	masc.	sg.	tlsit	tlsit	100
2	fem.	sg.	tlsit	tlsit	100
3	masc.	sg.	ilsa	itlsa	65.7
3	fem.	sg.	tlsa	atlsa	67.4
1	masc.-fem.	pl.	nlsa	antlsa	58.8
1	masc..-fem.	pl.	nlsa	antlsa	59.2
2	masc.	pl.	tlsam	atlsam	65.3
2	fem.	pl.	tlsamt	atlsam	66.2
3	masc.	pl.	lsan	atlsan	66.6
3	fem.	pl.	lsant	atlsan	66.8

(ii) sawl "speak" in the imperfective

Person	Gender	Number	Model	* Form	%
1	masc.-fem.	sg.	ar sawalɣ	atsawalɣ	42.5
2	masc.	sg.	ar tsawalt	atsawalt	45.7
2	fem.	sg.	ar tsawalt	atsawalt	46.4
3	masc.	sg.	ar isawal	itsawal	53.4
3	fem.	sg.	ar tsawal	atsawal	55.7
1	masc..-fem.	pl.	ar nsawal	antsawal	54.4
2	masc.	pl.	ar tsawalm	atsawalm	56.3
2	fem.	pl.	ar tsawalmt	atsawalm	66.3
3	masc.	pl.	ar sawaln	atsawaln	68.4
3	fem.	pl.	ar sawalnt	atsawaln	69.2

It appears in (i) and (ii) that the forms of the perfective, except in 1st and 2nd persons of the singular, as well as those of the imperfective, contain a good proportion of ill-formed structures, indicated by the symbol (*). In fact, one can recognize in the wrong forms the aorist stems, especially as the modal particle *a/at* seems to be only a variant of *ad*, the particle usually accompanying the aorist.

Regarding the perfective, it is clear that neither the preverbal particle *ar* nor the stems are perfectly mastered.

b. Syncretizing personal pronouns

This phenomenon is attested both in the realizations of the perfective forms and those of the imperfective ones, especially in plural forms:

Person	**Gender**	**Perfective**			**Imperfective**		
		Model	* Form	%	Model	* Form	%
2	masc.	tlsam	atlsam	35.4	ar tsawalm	atsawalm	38.2
2	fem.	tlsamt	atlsam	35.4	ar tsawalmt	atsawalm	38.4
3	masc.	lsan	atlsan	36.3	ar sawaln	atsawaln	39.3
3	fem.	lsant	atlsan	36.4	ar sawalnt	atsawaln	39.3

Once more, we come across the neutralization of the gender opposition in the plural forms to a unique form (masculine) for the 2nd person and another one for the 3rd person.

c. Syncretizing person indices in the imperative

In the conjugation of the verb *kšm* "enter", we note that two situations arise at the level of the imperative paradigm, namely the neutralization of the gender opposition and the neutralization of gender and number.

The neutralization of the gender opposition in plural forms occurs especially in the plural forms:

Person	Gender	Number	Model	Form used	%
2	masc.	sg.	kšm	kšm	
2	fem.	sg.	kšm	kšm	
2	masc.	pl.	kšmat	kšmat	
2	fem.	pl.	kšmamt	kšmat	45.3

In the second case, there is neutralization of the opposition of gender and number; thus, we have an invariant form *kšm*:

Person	Gender	Number	Model	Form used	%
2	masc.	sg.	kšm	kšm	
2	fem.	sg.	kšm	kšm	
2	masc.	pl.	kšmat	kšm	32.1
2	fem.	pl.	kšmamt	kšm	32.1

From the analysis of performance and scores, it is apparent that the subjects of the target group have a rudimentary mastery of the linguistic competence of their mother tongue, unlike the informants in the control group. The deficiencies we observe in the realizations of urban children affect all aspects of the lexicon and morphology. It further appears that the compensation strategies used by urban children are part of a process of creating an interlanguage whose structural basis is borrowed predominantly from Colloquial Arabic.

5.2 Discursive Competence

To illustrate the degree of mastery of discursive competence of the urban child, we have selected a text recorded with a 10-year-old girl residing in Agadir. She was asked to talk freely about her occupations at school and during vacations. Her interlocutor was her own aunt, and *a priori* the *observer's paradox* effect was neutralized.

To avoid lengthy developments, we will limit ourselves here to a few comments on the lexicon, the verbal and nominal modalities, the syntactic constructions and sequences.

5.2.1 Verb Modalities

In considering the verbal modalities used in this corpus, we notice the predominance of the aorist stem with the modal mark *a/ad*. In fact, out of 59 verbal modalities (with abundant recurrence for that matter), we have 39 verbs in the aorist, 19 in the perfective, and only one in the imperfective with a future value.

(i) But a closer look at these verbs in the aorist reveals that they have an imperfective value that expresses either a habit, **a ntlεab* instead of *ar ntlεab* "(habitually) we play", or obligation, **ad ftun* instead of *ar fttun* "(they are) to go" or **ad ћbun* instead of *ar ћbbun* "they (should) hide."

(ii) The perfective is introduced (with two exceptions) in subordinates. Examples are: *ћit nffuγ* "when we go out"; *ћit nqaḍa* "when we have finished"; *iγ isduqur* "when he will have rung"; *iγ iẓra* "when he will have seen."

(iii) The only word with a future value to have been used is formed with the particle *ra* (a variant of *rad*). An example is *ra yawi *tn* "he will take them." This form is anyway ungrammatical because of the postposition of the direct object affix *-tn*.

5.2.2 Noun Modalities

The errors related to the nominal modalities concern the annexation state (or construct form) and person indices. We notice that there is both

an ignorance of the shape of the annexation state and that of agreement in terms of person.

a. Ignorance of the form of the annexation state

We know that in Amazigh the noun is in the construct state when it is preceded by a preposition, when it functions as a noun complement or number complement, or when it is a subject postponed to the verb; in this case, the noun undergoes a transformation of the vowel of the initial syllable. In this data, we have two examples of nouns in the free state, while they appear in a construction that requires the use of the form of the construct state:

(i) Noun complement

Example: *lqism n *taɛṛabt* instead of *lqism n tɛṛabt*
"Arabic class."

(ii) Prepositional complement

Example: *a nttlɛab s *amlal* instead of *ar nttlɛab s umlal*

"we play with sand."

b. Lack of agreement between the person index and the referent

Example: *nsmun lmwaɛn nsrs *t γ lkuzina* instead of *nsmun irukutn nsrs tn γ unwal*

"we cleared the dishes and put them in the kitchen."

Here, the affix -*t* is ill-formed because its referent, *lmwaɛn*, requires the use of the affix -*tn*, which corresponds to the masculine plural form.

5.2.3 Syntactic Constructions

The inventory of syntactic constructions shows that the subject essentially utters sentences that have a simple structure:

a. Predicate phrase as a direct object

Examples:
- *ar nskar ħaba* “we play blindman’s buff.”
- *ar nttara lkalkül* “we are doing calculus.”

b. Actualizer + predicate as direct object

Examples:

- *kra išṭṭeb bṛṛa* “someone is sweeping the front steps.”
- *yan iziyf ṭṭabla* “one wipes the table.”

c. Autonomous syntagm + predicate as direct object

Examples:

- *γ lɛuṭla, la a ntɛdal tigmmi* “during the holidays, we will redo the house.”
- *γ lbħṛ a ntlɛab lħbel* “at the beach, we skip.”

These structures reveal the difficulties urban children have in producing an elaborate discourse in comparison with their rural counterparts.

5.2.4 Sequences

In this discourse, three processes of combining clauses are attested: juxtaposition, coordination and subordination.

a. Juxtaposition

It is the dominant process, and it gives discourse a paratactic structure.

Examples:
- *a ntlɛab γ listiraħa, a nskar ħaba* “At the recess, we play blindman’s buff.”
- *γ lbħṛ a ntlɛab lħbel, a ntlɛab s *amlal* “At the beach, we skip, we play with sand.’
- *a ntlɛab takurt* “We play ball.”

b. Coordination

The coordination of clauses is achieved mainly by using the conjunction *ulla* "or."

Examples:

- *ulla a nskr la γôd* "or we are doing the round."
- *ulla a ntlεab γ^{w}mmiḍa* "or we play hide and seek."

c. Subordination

The major subordinator is represented by the Arabic borrowing *ħit*, used here to introduce a time clause.

Examples:

- *ħit nεdl tigmmi* "when we have tidied the house."
- *ħit nqaḍa* "when we finished."

Borrowed from Colloquial Arabic, the subordinating conjunction *ħit* "when, if" is used to introduce either a conditional clause or a time clause. Here, it is used instead of *iγ*, which is proper to the dialect of Agadir.

Examples:
- *iγ isḍuqr nnaqus* "when the bell rings"
- *iγ iẓra yan* "if he sees one"

We should also note the high recurrence of the linking word *ukan* "then" (10 occurrences in the corpus), used mainly with the value of a coordinating adverb in the following statements:

- *ukan a ntlεab* "then we play"
- *ukan yan iqn aln-s* "then someone turns a blind eye"
- *ukan a itsḍuqur nnaqus* "then the bell rings"
- *ukan a nkšm lqism* "then we enter the classroom"
- *ukan a nftu* "then we leave"

6. The Effects of the Lack of Intergenerational Transmission

Competency tests were administered to a focus group and a control group composed of young native speakers of Amazigh, the former residing in urban areas and the latter in rural ones. Analysis of these tests revealed that urban children have a degree of mastery of their mother tongue which is inferior to that of the rural children, be it at the level of linguistic competence or discursive competence. As for the qualitative analysis of performance, it showed that the deficiencies identified in the language of the urban children are attested at the levels of the morphology, lexicon, syntax, and sequences in discourse. In fact, through the analysis of the corpus, it is clear that the recorded informants have only an approximate mastery of their mother tongue, with the majority not mastering the full array of the sociolinguistic repertoire. One can characterize the code used as one that is not well developed and that does not exploit the resources of the language for a better quality of communication because of the lack of a mastery of these resources.

The finding that there is a negative impact of urbanization on the mastery of Amazigh by the younger generations leads to affirm that urbanization is a key determinant of linguistic change. Indeed, by placing in a situation of contact and competition languages that are different in their structures, status and functions, urbanization produces the phenomenon of transitional bilingualism whose process operates on several generations and whose conclusion is the obsolescence of Amazigh. However, urbanization is only an indirect cause of the attrition of Amazigh; the decisive reason is that the intergenerational transmission of Amazigh in urban environments takes place in conditions that are more or less unfavorable to a good mastery of the language by the younger generations.

Knowing why parents either do not transmit Amazigh to their offspring at all, or transmit it to them badly, leads to raising questions about the motivations, attitudes and representations of parents with respect to the value they attach to Amazigh, not only through their statements in interview situations but especially in the context of real family life. It is true that families are subjected to the effects of *doxa* and of the dominant culture, which has long regarded the Amazigh language and culture as by-

products that are devalued on the market of symbolic goods. It is this prejudice which is at work in the assimilation process of Amazighophone populations throughout the history of the Maghreb and which explains how Amazigh has moved from the *de facto* status of a major language to that of a minor language.

In attempting to make a linguistic prospective, we can put forth the following hypothesis: the current political and cultural situation, which is more favorable than the previous one, offers obvious opportunities for the revitalization of the Amazigh language and culture. Indeed, this context is marked by some form of recognition of the legitimacy of Amazighness in Morocco- a legitimacy that is reflected by its integration in education and the media. In particular, this context is especially conducive to a broadening and deepening of the Amazigh identity consciousness, which can lead families to ensure the intergenerational transmission of the language and the culture, a *sine qua non* condition for their preservation.

Chapter 5

Urbanization and Symbolic Violence

1. On Symbolic Violence

Symbolic violence is attested in all societies, particularly those characterized by the diversity of ethnic groups, languages, cultures and religions, and by their ranking on the value scale of symbolic goods (Bourdieu, 1982). This kind of insidious, but real, violence is manifested in the behavior of individuals supposed to be the holders of the prestigious cultural and sociolinguistic norm; it is apparent in their rejection of the other because of his linguistic and cultural difference, their practicing snubbing, mockery, insults, and sometimes their totally excluding the group.

Competition between the languages in contact in these societies may put the speakers of the minoritized languages in a situation of psychological discomfort and insecurity. Consequently, the speakers are led to progressively abandon their first language, which is threatened by the strong languages that ineluctably sentence it to attrition and, *in fine*, to *language death*. This extreme situation arises from the minoritization of non-official languages resulting from the state's symbolic decisions as well as from the psycho-sociolinguistic effects ensuing from it, such as the self-hatred and the self-denigration felt by individuals belonging to minoritized communities.

Amazighophone communities are among those affected by the contact with strong languages both in the Maghreb and abroad, especially the Amazigh groups that settled in urban agglomerations or that are isolated in

the plains and plateaus where there is a strong presence of non-Amazighophone communities (see Bennis, 2006). Thus, most of the time, Amazigh occupies a weak position because of its status as a minoritized language in the language market, which contributes to changing its phonological, morphological and lexical structures and altering its sociolinguistic functions. The symbolic violence engendered by this situation has a direct impact on the behavior of Amazighophones, who tend to marginalize the use of their first language in, or eliminate it from, their linguistic repertoire.

The change is of considerable magnitude in societies marked by an intense process of urbanization, as is the case in the Maghreb. Since the sixties, the urban population of Morocco has been developing in an unprecedented way; according to different censuses, it grew from 29.15% in 1960 to 52% in 2004. Recent statistical projections indicate that it has reached nearly 55% in 2008. This geometric progression is explained by various factors including the natural increase of urban population, rural exodus, the expansion of urban perimeters, the urbanization of rural villages and the creation of new urban centers. The causes of the flow of migrants to urban centers are essentially socio-economic in nature. They can be summarized by the following factors: the pauperization of farmers, the crisis of the traditional rural economy, population growth, endemic unemployment, and the under-equipment of rural regions in the domains of health, education and recreation. These factors are the indications of the economic dependence of the rural society. At the cultural and linguistic level, the urbanization of the rural population goes hand in hand with a process of adaptation to the cultural and linguistic model that prevails in the city, conveyed by Colloquial Arabic in the Maghreb and by the host languages with respect to the Amazigh Diaspora. This results in some form of cultural and linguistic assimilation/alienation by the gradual loss of the linguistic varieties of Amazigh as a sequel to the Amazighophones' acquisition of prestigious urban varieties, including especially Colloquial Arabic.

2. The Impact of Extralinguistic Parameters

As part of this general issue, we dealt in the preceding chapter with the assessment of the degree to which a group of 50 young native-speakers of the Amazigh variety of south-west Morocco master their language. Ranging from 6 to 16 years of age, 20 of them reside in rural areas and 30 reside in urban ones. The evaluation in question is undertaken on the basis of a competency test targeting phonology, the lexicon, morphosyntax and discourse. It also took into consideration the linguistic characteristics of these young people's linguistic performance.

Exploiting the same sample, this study aims to examine the impact of sociolinguistic parameters on the mastery of Amazigh as a mother tongue, namely residence (rural vs. urban), the linguistic environment, the socio-cultural background, the education of the parents and their attitude towards their first language. The hypothesis put forward herein is that urban culture, along with it linguistic norm, subjects the young Amazighophones to the effects of symbolic violence which lead to the minoritization of the Amazigh language in the language market and, henceforth, its attrition.

2.1 Residence

The question addressed is to what extent the fact of living in urban areas promotes or impedes the mastery of Amazigh as a mother tongue. The following are the scores obtained by the subjects during the competence test, according to their residence:

Residence	*Relative average score %*
Industrial urban	37.3
Commercial urban	76.6
Rural	84.8

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It appears that the lowest scores are those of the subjects residing in the industrial city (Agadir), while the highest scores are achieved by the

rural children. Between the two categories falls that of the children residing in the commercial city (Inezgane, Tiznit).

A first approximation of the cross-checking of the *residence* variable with the degree to which young people master their mother tongue leads to reexamining classification in terms of residence. Thus, rather than focusing on two types of residence (rural vs. urban), it turns out to be more relevant to consider two types of urban residence according to the economic function of the city and its cultural environment. Indeed, the city of Agadir has to be distinguished from those of Inezgane and Tiznit as the former is essentially an industrial city (agro-industry, fish industry and tourism) and an administrative one. Since the 1960 earthquake, its population has shown a geometric progression even if the linguistic and cultural background represented by Amazigh increasingly operates as a substratum facing competition from more powerful linguistic and cultural models, conveyed particularly by Colloquial Arabic. However, Inezgane and Tiznit are commercial cities whose population uses Amazigh as a vehicular language mostly, while the Amazighophone population of Agadir uses it more and more as a vernacular language. In addition, the people of Tiznit and those of Inezgane seem to keep strong economic and cultural ties with the hinterland, which confers on them a kind of uniformity from a linguistic and cultural point of view. These findings show the negative impact of urbanization on the sociolinguistic situation of Amazigh; they also confirm the observations made concerning the city as a place of economic and cultural alienation (see Castells, 1981).

2.2 Social Background

To account for the correlation between the degree of mastery of Amazigh as a mother tongue and the socio-cultural level of the parents, we postulate the hypothesis that children belonging to surroundings which enjoy a prestigious economic and cultural capital tend to master Amazigh as a mother tongue less well than do the children born into a working class milieu.

Indeed, the scores achieved by the subjects vary depending on the socio-cultural status of the parents, especially the father:

Socio-professional category	*Relative average score in %*
Civil servant, employee	50.1
Worker	80.9
Farmer	98.3

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Thus, the children whose fathers are civil servants or employees are the ones whose performance in Amazigh as a mother tongue shows the most deficiencies. Let us venture a hypothesis to explain this phenomenon. Conditioned by years of academic training, blunted by the repetitive nature of administrative work, and enthralled by the cult of hierarchy and the power of the written document, the civil servant and the employee are animated by a pragmatism which pushes them to despise all forms of dominated language and culture. This spirit is reflected in imposing on the family the dominant linguistic and cultural codes; as a result, they are driven to achieve, at their level, the conditions of reproducing symbolic dominance (see Boukous, 1999).

The obvious conclusion that emerges from this is that Amazigh remains a working-class language. Correlatively, the Amazighophones who benefit from social mobility tend to abandon their original language and culture in order to appropriate the languages and cultures which are in a position of dominance in the market of symbolic goods, namely Colloquial Arabic in non-formal communication situations and Standard (or Middle) Arabic and French in those that are characterized by formality.

2.3 Linguistic Environment

Recall that the languages in the Moroccan language market are Amazigh, Colloquial Arabic, Standard Arabic and French. Thus, particularly in urban areas, Amazighophone communities generally live in a bilingual, if not multilingual, setting. Is the child’s exposure to these linguistic varieties a positive or negative factor for the mastery of the mother tongue? The views of experts on this subject are mixed. Some consider that bilingualism fosters the development of the personality of the child and allows opening on different languages and cultural worlds; others, however, affirm that bilingualism hinders the fulfillment of the child and engenders dysfunctions

at the emotional and cognitive levels. As to us, we can assert that early bilingualism may be detrimental to the emotional and intellectual development of the child if it is badly managed, first, in the family and, then, within the school institution. It may also be used at the detriment of the child's native language and culture.

The survey conducted on our sample enables us to submit these assumptions to empirical validation.

Examination of the scores achieved by the subjects revealed that the children whose parents are monolingual master their mother tongue better than those whose parents are bilingual. Indeed, the average score achieved by the former is 83.4% while that achieved by the latter is 51.2%. Reinterpreted in the context of what is commonly put forth by language learning/acquisition theorists, this finding would mean that the more parents use in their home languages other than the child's mother tongue, the fewer the opportunities for the child to be exposed to that language. Now, in the absence of a model to imitate, the child cannot learn the structures of the mother tongue by imitation and reinforcement (Skinner, 1957). From the viewpoint of the innateness hypothesis, this child will not be able to make adjustments to the rules of Universal Grammar internalized with the data of the Particular Grammar of his mother tongue (Chomsky, 1986). This finding is corroborated by the scores achieved by children according to their own bilingualism vs. monolingualism. Indeed, the average score of the bilinguals is 55.7% while that of monolinguals is 94.3%.

We have seen that all the children participating in the survey are school children, and thus they should be at least trilingual (Amazigh + Colloquial Arabic + Standard Arabic). In fact, Standard Arabic and *a fortiori* French, introduced later at school, are far from being mastered. In addition, at this level, the use of the latter languages is strictly limited to the school; accordingly, they generally speaking fall outside the actual practice of the child. Consequently, it is more probative to speak of a generalized bilingualism (Amazigh + Moroccan Arabic) than multilingualism. However, at a stage where the child consolidates the acquisition of the structures of his mother tongue, he is exposed in bilingual environments to the use of

phonological, lexical and syntactic structures different from those of his native language. The language contact the child undergoes does not fail to generate interference between the structures of the languages involved. This uncontrolled bilingualism creates disharmony, disrupting the normal process of mother tongue acquisition.

Nonetheless, fundamentally correct as it is, the previous remark must be qualified. In fact, in the case of an alternative use of Amazigh and Colloquial Arabic by children, bilingualism without diglossia should be distinguished from bilingualism with diglossia. This bipartition of bilinguals is relevant because, judging from the performance of subjects, it turns out that bilingualism without diglossia is more injurious to the mastery of the mother tongue than seems to be bilingualism with diglossia.

The following results clearly indicate the impact of monolingualism vs. bilingualism on the performance of the children surveyed:

Monolingualism/Bilingualism	*Average score in %*
Monolingualism	94.3
Bilingualism with diglossia	73.8
Bilingualism without diglossia	33.2

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Thus, distinguishing two types of bilingualism is empirically relevant, apparently:

(i) Bilingualism with diglossia is a form of coordinated bilingualism in which the child uses both languages functionally, the mother tongue being used exclusively in the context of family relations and Colloquial Arabic being prominent in the street. This is the situation of subjects residing in urban areas, where, on the one hand, the functions of language are clearly defined and, on the other, Amazigh is present mainly in the family environment. This option seems to indicate that the family adopts a language policy which regulates the use of competing languages.

(ii) Bilingualism without diglossia is a form of compound bilingualism in which the child speaks both languages indiscriminately whatever

the context, the topic of conversation, the interlocutor, etc. This situation is thus characterized by the confusion of the sociolinguistic functions of the competing languages, namely Amazigh and Moroccan Arabic as well as by code-mixing, in which the speaker mixes languages. The particularity of this bilingualism is that the subjects residing in urban areas live in a state of confusion as far as the functions of languages are concerned.

As to the practice of multilingualism, it is directly related to the parents' level of schooling. Indeed, we can reasonably assume that monolingual parents, those that use Amazigh exclusively, as well as the bilingual ones, those who add Colloquial Arabic to Amazigh, are *a priori* illiterate or have received incomplete schooling. It follows that multilingual subjects (Amazigh + Colloquial Arabic + Standard Arabic (+ French)) are those whose schooling is certain, at least up to high school.

The schooling variable is significant as to the unequal degree of the child's mastery of the mother tongue. Indeed, the children whose parents have not attended school have an average score of 80.4% and those whose parents' schooling is equal to or greater than the primary level have an average score of 50.4%.

It seems clear that the educated parents benefit from a more or less large opening on other languages and cultures, which they can put into practice in their families. In so doing, they submit the mother tongue to a tough competition. In addition, schooling and education in the Moroccan society are conceived of from the perspective of a practical logic- one that requires schooling to lead to a degree. In principle, it is then equivalent to the key to social mobility. Nonetheless, this mobility has laws and constraints the keystone of which is acquiescence to the dominant ideology, which minoritizes vernacular languages by leading to the marginalization of difference. It is in this very context that the disaffection the children with educated parents feel with respect to Amazigh should be conceived.

After the analysis, it turns out that the variables which significantly discriminate between the subjects who master their mother tongue and

those who master it less are fundamentally place of residence and socio-cultural background. This leads us to formulate the following empirical generalization: the subject residing in a rural area and belonging to a popular, monolingual setting stands more chance to master his mother tongue's linguistic and communicative competence than does his urban counterpart descending from a well-off, multilingual setting.

2.4 Motivations and Attitudes

That the rural child masters Amazigh better than does the city child is not surprising in itself. This leads to thinking, however. Indeed, if maintaining Amazigh can only be achieved in rural, monolingual settings and given the extent of urbanization, then we can assert that Amazighophones are irrevocably subjected to the process of losing their mother tongue by linguistic substitution. It is precisely this process which has operated throughout the history of the Maghreb since the intromission of Arabic, which has contributed to the Arabization of large sections of the Amazigh population (Marçais, 1961). Can this fatal outcome be thwarted by the implementation of a proactive program for the maintenance of Amazigh in a situation of language contact with strong languages in the language market? It certainly can, but on condition that Amazigh be, on the one hand, supported by an unwavering institutional language policy and, on the other, be considered by its own speakers a *strong core value* in their system of representations.

In fact, Amazighophones are torn between a rather blunt motivation and an attitude which is sometimes ardent. Indeed, they are entrapped in a language market which has draconian laws. The practice of laws objectively sentences them to learning the strong languages, those of transactional interaction as well as material and symbolic power. Subdued to the effects of these laws, speakers tend to marginalize their mother tongue up to amnesia. It is, nevertheless, interesting to observe that it is among the urban youth that a strong feeling of identity is developing, expressing a firm will to resist the prevalent symbolic violence. Is it not paradoxical to see a group assert attachment to its cultural and linguistic identity when, objectively, it is in the process of losing it? In other words, this seems to

point out that a positive attitude can get on well with a low or negative motivation.

Theoretically, a strong motivation goes hand in hand with the mastery of the mother tongue, an equal mastery of both linguistic and communicative competence. The case herein being that of Amazigh, this mastery is acquired in the family environment according to a process whereby the acquisition of linguistic (grammatical) competence and that of communicative competence are concomitant. Accordingly, this process is different from that of learning the second language, which is learned either informally in the street or in social exchanges, as is the case of Colloquial Arabic, or in the school context in a formal and scholarly manner. In the case of Amazigh, the child acquires the grammar of his mother tongue implicitly while updating its structures through real and natural speech acts; contrariwise, in formally learning a second language, the child learns first the explicit grammar of this language and then learns communicative competence laboriously, through a slow and costly process.

The socio-cultural conditions in which the urban child lives make him face languages which are more powerful than his mother tongue, in terms of social efficacy, and more prestigious, from the perspective of the dominant sociolinguistic norm. The linguistic *habitus* of this child, thus, incorporates symbolic provisions that result in his more or less consciously internalizing the feeling that his mother tongue has a minoritized language status. This feeling is reinforced in the subjects belonging to a family background which promotes linguistic guilt by relegating the mother tongue; in these subjects, this entails linguistic insecurity and ultimately the rejection of this language. They are consenting victims of symbolic violence.

The process of linguistic substitution to which Amazigh is subjected objectively leads to *language death* after the fourth generation. Speaking of the death of Amazigh may seem ominous, but actually it is a possibility whose success many factors, both external and internal, *conspire* to achieving. Among the external factors contributing to the weakening of Amazigh is in the first place its status as a minoritized language in the context of the linguistic and cultural policy of the unitarian, central state

which prevailed since the independence until recently and which helped keep Amazigh in an under-developed status under the pretext of safeguarding national unity against alleged separatist aims. The effects ensuing from this policy led to the exclusion of Amazigh from school and administration as well as its marginalization in the media. As for the internal factors which objectively weaken Amazigh, these relate to its strong dialectalization, which limits mutual intelligibility between Amazighophone communities; its non-standardization, which prevents it from being a vehicular language; orality, which reduces the range of its sociolinguistic functions; the poverty of its lexicon, which forces it to massive borrowing, and so on. *De facto*, the natural force of these factors, objectively sentences Amazigh to decline and suffer the perilous effects of symbolic violence.

Faced with the tendency of attrition threatening the Amazighophone community, a movement which is becoming increasingly widespread claims the revalorization of the Amazigh language. This phenomenon has certainly not yet taken the shape of a powerful social movement, but the momentum which is getting underway seems irreversible. This movement claims the official recognition of Amazigh, its integration into the different cycles of formal education, its use in local administrative services, particularly in the department of justice, and its use in public media as the language of culture. The works carried out by specialists on the language, literature, history, arts and culture in general have helped to give scientific legitimacy to this protest movement. For their part, the creators in the fields of literature and the arts show that the Amazigh culture is still alive and that, by incorporating the forms and patterns of the universal culture of the present time, it can renew itself and satisfy the symbolic needs of the younger generations. Finally, the associative movement, which is gaining more and more weight, functions as a relay that ensures the wide dissemination of knowledge on the Amazigh language and culture in order to create or enhance identity awareness, especially among the youth. On the other hand, intervening as a component of civil society, the associative movement plays the role of a catalyst in front of the political body which it interpellates concerning the Amazigh linguistic and cultural rights.

3. Methodological Issues

At the end of this description, let us first raise a few methodological issues and a theoretical question concerning the concept of *transitional bilingualism* and its relation to urbanization.

3.1 Representativeness of the Sample

Is the surveyed sample representative enough to make it possible to generalize the results of the survey to the entire child population? In other words, can one, on the basis of a case study, draw generalizations about linguistic change in the socio-cultural conditions inherent to urbanization?

The sample under investigation is composed of 50 youths chosen according to selection criteria which take into account age, gender, social background and language exposure (monolingual vs. bilingual environment). The advantage of such a case study is that it allows one to carry out an in-depth analysis of a limited group of subjects by directly observing them, by using different instruments and finally by adopting a dual, quantitative and qualitative approach. The quantitative approach, which is rudimentary but significant, made it possible to measure the impact of socio-cultural variables on language change, while the qualitative analysis consisted of the description of the properties of language deficiencies attested in the performance of urban children. Such an elaborate analysis is not easily feasible within a study with a broad range.

3.2 The Degree of Relevance of the Variables

The independent variables initially included in the analysis are gender (male vs. female), age, residence (rural vs. urban), social background and linguistic background (monolingualism vs. bi-multilingualism). After the analysis, it turned out that the variables which significantly discriminate between the subjects who master their mother tongue and those who do not master it so well are residence and socio-cultural environment. As for the dependent variables which were the subject of the analysis, they are the degree of mastery of the linguistic competence and that of the discursive competence of the mother tongue. Thus, ideally, the subject who resides in a rural area and who belongs to a popular monolingual

setting is more likely to master the linguistic and communicative competence of his mother tongue.

This result is not surprising in itself, but it encourages thinking. Indeed, if maintaining Amazigh can only be achieved in a rural, monolingual environment and given the extent of the phenomenon of urbanization in Morocco, then we can assert that Amazigh speakers are irremediably subjected to the process of losing their mother tongue and that this language is *ipso facto* threatened by the process of decline, attrition and, in the medium or long term, language death. Can this fatal result be foiled by the implementation of a proactive program for the maintenance of Amazigh in a situation of language contact with strong languages on the language market? It certainly can, provided that Amazigh is integrated into a revitalization strategy which is conceived and implemented at the institutional level and in which the Amazighophone community is seriously involved.

3.3 The Degree of Adequacy of the Analytical Instruments

The analytical instruments used to measure the degree to which the subjects master their mother tongue are the questionnaire, the interview and the test. The administration of the questionnaire makes it possible to grasp the profile of respondents. In fact, it rather quickly turned into an interview due to the fact that the subjects, given their age, were unable to fill in the questionnaire themselves. This interview should, thus, very naturally keep the structure of the questionnaire, and it was up to the investigator to direct the interview and record the information requested, by either writing it down in some cases or recording it in others.

It was the test that was ultimately the main instrument of measurement. Administering it was not without problems, especially the morphology test. Indeed, the method of producing the forms of the paradigms of pronouns and verb conjugation was inspired from the exercise of conjugation. The use of Arabic was necessary especially since this task often looked like a school exercise. This way of proceeding is obviously far from the method of eliciting natural data which the sociolinguist volunteers to collect *in vivo*, i.e. in real acts of communication.

Such a procedure would have allowed the subjects to produce desired forms in real discourse on the basis of real situations where the speaker would not feel systematically observed and tested; this would have particularly had the advantage of removing children from as tedious a task as the exercise of conjugation. The artificiality of this procedure is even more blatant as concern is with the mother tongue, whose explicit grammar the child does not master.

The test of language mastery also included a lexical aspect. The choice of fields focused on the colors, the human body, pets and counting. These fields have proven relevant in that they allowed us to make a distinction in the degree of mastery of the mother tongue by the subjects. Indeed, knowledge of the lexicon is uneven, so much so that rural children master the lexicon of their mother tongue better than do their urban counterparts. The notional fields selected also have an uneven degree of significance, the field of colors being the one that distinguishes the subjects most, and that of animals the one that distinguishes them least. The *significance scale* of the fields is as follows: colors > numerals > human body > animals.

4. Communicative Competence

After analyzing the language of the child in its grammatical and discursive dimensions, can one say that the urban child masters the communicative competence of his mother tongue? To answer this question, let us first define the notion of *communicative competence* (cf. Hymes, 1972).

Communicative competence is generally defined as the ability of a speaker to apply the grammatical rules of a language in order to form grammatically correct sentences, on the one hand, and to use them appropriately in speech for the sake of communication, on the other. Therefore, communicative competence implies at least four levels of proficiency:

(i) The mastery of pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar;

(ii) The mastery of the rules of the use of speech: How to address the interlocutor, which register to use, what subject to address, how to start the conversation, how to finish it, and so on;
(iii) The mastery of various types of speech acts such as thanking, inviting, congratulating, requesting, condoling, insulting, etc.; and
(iv) The mastery of the appropriate use of language according to the situation of communication and the nature of the relationship between the interlocutors. The relations may be relations of social roles or personal relations; they can also be relationships between superiors and subordinates, between peers, and between parents and children, etc.

The mastery of communicative competence is therefore essential in fulfilling the basic function of language, namely that of communication. In the case of urban children whose linguistic competence we have considered herein, the feeling of the minoritization of the mother tongue is not as strong as to result in a total ignorance of the language. However, the approximate knowledge these children have of their mother tongue does not enable them to master its communicative competence. Furthermore, a thorough investigation of such competence would have required an expansion of the research question in such a way as to cover the procedures for the exercise of the discursive competence and cultural competence of the subjects; in so doing, it would have tested particularly the knowledge of the rhetorical resources of language, paremiologic discourse, idiomatic expressions, the cultural uses of the language, and so on.

5. The Attrition Process

The problem studied here is related to the change which Amazigh is subjected to in a situation of contact involving other languages in the context of a wild urbanization, a context marked by a symbolic violence which leads to the attrition of Amazigh. The process of linguistic substitution at work in the Amazighophones' linguistic behavior is part of a strategy of social distinction in which extra-linguistic variables come into play that serve as a path for the internalization of social order, through the

intervention of sociolinguistic codes (Bernstein, 1975). Our purpose here is to induce a model of this process.

5.1 Transitional Bilingualism

The examination of the effects of urbanization on language change, which is the object of this chapter, is based on a case study that involved a group of children who are native speakers of Amazigh; this group is subdivided into a target group represented by city residents and a control group made up of residents of rural areas.

On the basis of correcting the results of a competency test, the quantitative analysis of the performance of the subjects showed that, at the level of both linguistic competence and discursive competence, urban children have a lower degree of mastery of their mother tongue than do the ones residing in rural areas. As for the qualitative analysis of performance, it showed that the deficiencies identified in the language of the city residents are attested at the levels of morphology, lexicon, syntax, and sequences in discourse.

A contribution to the urban sociolinguistics of Amazigh, this study shows that young generations born into Amazighophone urban communities have an approximate knowledge of their mother tongue. It corroborates a serious trend in the history of Amazigh, namely the gradual decline of this language as a result of contact with Arabic. The western dialects of the Amazigh domain resolutely follow the lead of those of the east (Siwa, Libya and Tunisia), which have been largely affected by linguistic decline, unless there is a radical change in the language and cultural policy of the states and unless there is a qualitative reconstruction of the linguistic habitus of the speakers, which would contribute to the revitalization of Amazigh and its rehabilitation at the level of symbolic values.

5.2 Modeling the Attrition Process

The progressive loss of language and its approximate acquisition constitute two features of the transitional bilingualism characterizing the linguistic practices of the subjects who use a second language, besides

their mother tongue, for their communicative needs. Particularly, these include the subjects from minority linguistic communities, immigrant communities or those enclosed in a linguistic environment where their language is minoritized.

By observing the linguistic practices of speakers on a longitudinal plane, we see that the first generation practices supplementary bilingualism, the second complementary bilingualism, and the third residual bilingualism.

Indeed, the first generation uses its mother tongue to a large extent, while the second language is used as an extra in situations requiring its use. Besides, the knowledge this generation has of this language is often rudimentary. Such a situation is encountered among the first Amazighophone migrants of the colonial period. More rooted in the prevalent socio-economic and cultural fabric, the second generation acquires its mother tongue in the family environment and learns the second language either informally through social practice or in an institutional and ritualistic fashion.

As a general rule, the second generation uses bilingualism with diglossia, i.e. the speakers have enough mastery of both languages to use them in adequate situations of communication. This is illustrated by the children of the first generation who were born in the countryside and grew up in the city, which provides the conditions for a good mastery of their mother tongue. Usually born in the city and integrated into socio-cultural networks where the use of Colloquial Arabic predominates, the third generation does not acquire its mother tongue well and heavily uses the second language. Even in the family environment, the marginalized mother tongue is used only by the parents, since verbal communication between parents and children is primarily conducted in Arabic. As for the children, they communicate with each other exclusively in Arabic. At best, this generation has a passive knowledge of its mother tongue, i.e. it practices passive bilingualism only.

The finding related to the negative impact of urbanization on the children’s mastery of Amazigh leads to asserting that urbanization is a key determinant of linguistic change. Indeed, by placing in a situation of

contact and competition languages which differ in terms of their structures, status and functions, urbanization produces the phenomenon of transitional bilingualism whose process operates on several generations. During this process, Amazighophone speakers shift gradually from Amazigh monolingualism to supplementary Amazigh-Arabic bilingualism and from complementary Amazigh-Arabic bilingualism to residual Arabic-Amazigh bilingualism, culminating finally into Arabic monolingualism. This process, which has structured the history of Amazigh in North Africa, typically illustrates the generational process of unstable bilingualism which ends in the substitution of Arabic for Amazigh.

On the basis of this analysis, we can formulate the model of the historical process of the attrition of Amazigh as in the following schema:

M1 (L1) → SB (L1 > L2) → CB (L1 = L2) → RB (L1 < + L2) → SM (L2)

L1: Amazigh and L2: Arabic
M1: Initial situation of first language monolingualism
SB: Supplementary bilingualism situation
CB: Complementary bilingualism situation
RB: Residual bilingualism situation
SM: Terminal situation of second language monolingualism

PART II

PREMICES OF REVITALIZATION

Chapter 6

Strategic Planning and Revitalization

1. A Systemic Approach

Any averted observer will acquiesce to the necessity of adopting a systemic approach to comprehend the process of the *revitalization* of Amazigh within the perspective of a strategic planning for the policy of promoting Amazighness. The overall objective of this chapter is to contribute to the development of a vision and the implementation of ways that help revitalize Amazigh at the levels of the individual, community and nation, while at the same time granting this language the prerequisites and conditions of an effective implementation of status and corpus planning.

The proposed analysis falls within the macroscopic model advocated in Landry et al. (2005), a model which suggests, on the basis of the case of French in Canada, seven principles of ethno-linguistic revitalization, namely: (i) the use of the language and culture in socializing within the family and the community as well as their transmission inter-generationally; (ii) the conscious, voluntary and independent assertion of the members of the group; (iii) the collective and institutional support and investment of social domains; (iv) the official recognition by the state, a strong ideological choice and effective public policies; (v) the synergistic collaboration between the community and the state as part of a global collaboration partnership; (vi) the delegation of responsibilities, powers and actions according to the principle of subsidiarity; and finally (vii)

glocalization, i.e. the performance of local actions as part of a global approach.

Specifically, a planning of the intervention on Amazigh is proposed herein as part of a vision which makes explicit the ins and outs of planning, as well as the ways and means to be put to use for the implementation of the planning of Amazigh in the long run. Planning is conceived here as a process of normalizing the language at the level of its status and its corpus in view of its standardization. Status planning invests extrinsic factors acting on the external properties attributed to the language by the environment. As for corpus planning, it concerns the intrinsic factors that characterize the different components of grammar, namely phonetic, morphological, lexical, syntactic and rhetorical structures. Status planning and corpus planning are interrelated since the former provides the strategic foundation which serves as a basis for the implementation of concrete actions on the structure of the language.

In theoretical terms, the issue of the planning of Amazigh is considered in the context of strategic planning involving a systemic approach. The systemic approach is a macroscopic method of analysis which aims at making intelligible a complex reality, namely the linguistic situation, its configuration and its challenges. Derived from systemic analysis, the model conceives of the existing phenomena as units which belong to a system and which maintain relationships of interdependence rather than as a series of juxtaposed, non-interrelated elements (see Bériot, 2006). This model allows us to understand the proposed action, to place it in a logic and to integrate it into a purpose. Applied to sociolinguistic analysis, the systemic approach provides the interest of contributing to ensuring the understanding of strategies, intentions and issues which unfold in the global language market as well as in the sub-markets it comprises. The actors may be the state, society, institutions and individuals, given that the language market is the scene where the coexisting languages compete; at the symbolic level, this reflects competition and conflict between the social agents holding these languages. It is this perspective that licenses the transfer of the conceptual and analytical tools of the theory of strategic planning to the field of sociolinguistics, and more specifically to the analysis of the problematic issues of language planning. Specifically, language

planning is tackled in this approach as a process whose complex configuration and dynamic structure must be analyzed in terms of the interrelation of factors which are both intrinsic and extrinsic to the language.

Within this general issue, I suggest indications for the implementation of a strategic planning that integrates the planning of Amazigh as a process of revitalizing the language in the prospect of its promotion in society and institutions alike. In this context, it seems that the relevant research questions are as follows:

(i) What value and what weight does Amazigh have in the linguistic landscape of Morocco?

(ii) What strategy to conceive in order to promote the Amazigh language through its planning?

(iii) What roadmap to implement in terms of planning Amazigh for its revitalization and to reduce the gap between the present situation and the target situation?

In order to answer these questions, I will base the analysis proposed on the following assertion: language planning fits into the overall process of language revitalization and, consequently, planning Amazigh is a process which consolidates its valorization in the national language landscape. In this general perspective, I will consider the case of Amazigh within the framework of sociolinguistics by using, in particular, the model of *reversing language shift* proposed by Fishman (1991, 2001) in order to describe and explain the phenomenon of the resistance of languages to devitalization, attrition and death. This model is improved by Landry, Deveau and Allard (2005) and is called *ethnolinguistic revitalization*, based on the case of French in Canada. From this perspective, I will hereafter use, as an empirical basis, research carried out on Amazigh in a situation of competition, namely Boukous (1995, 2004), Bouhjar (2002), El Kirat (2004), Bennis (2006), de Ruiter (1989) and Er-ramdani (2004).

Diagnostic evaluation is the first step in the operation of strategic planning with respect to the language planning of Amazigh. In this step,

there will be a diagnosis of the sociolinguistic situation of this language in its environment in order to appreciate its value. The results of this analysis will measure the gap which exists between the present situation and the expected one. In order to fill this gap, a strategy will be proposed that sets out the political vision, the principles of language revitalization, the foundations of the planning of Amazigh and the elements of an action plan to operationalize the choices and implement the decisions made in terms of status planning and corpus planning of Amazigh.

2. The Value of Amazigh within the Language Market

In order to evaluate the situation of Amazigh, I will borrow from the model of strategic planning, currently used in the field of strategic management, a *mix* which is a synthesis of the PESTEL approach and the SWOT analysis (see Porter, 1982; Martinet, 1990; Johnson, Scholes, Whittington, and Fréry, 2008). This *mix* has, in my view, the advantage of meeting the specific needs of the analysis of the field of symbolic production, namely the linguistic field, by making it possible to establish a diagnosis of the situation of Amazigh in terms of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats. The external diagnosis helps to identify the opportunities and threats present in the environment in terms of structuring factors, namely in the political, economic, socio-cultural, technological, educational and legislative domains (the so-called PESTEL approach). As for the internal diagnosis, it helps identify the strengths and weaknesses of the language in terms of structural factors in the areas of the corpus, sociolinguistic functions, demolinguistics, cultural production, the writing system, translation, publishing, attitudes and social representations, presence in the media landscape and so on.

2.1 External Diagnosis: Opportunities and Threats

The external diagnosis assesses the opportunities available to Amazigh and the threats which await it in the environment and its various components.

2.1.1 The Political Environment

Amazigh has begun to be a topic of interest in the political discourse in Morocco only with the emergence of the associations' movement starting from the late 1960s. This movement claims the official recognition of the Amazighness of Morocco as well as guarantees for the exercise of Amazigh linguistic and cultural rights (see the Agadir Charter, 1991; the Manifesto for the Recognition of the Amazighness of Morocco, 2000, etc.) Indeed, in the official political discourse, the Amazigh issue has been totally overlooked until the Speech of the late King Hassan II in 1994, in which he envisaged the teaching of "Berber dialects". However, it is with the historical event of the Throne Speech and the Ajdir Speech in 2001 that King Mohammed VI laid down the foundations of a new cultural and linguistic policy which recognizes the Amazigh culture as an essential component of the Moroccan culture and its revalorization as a national responsibility. In this perspective, the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture (Institut Royal de la Culture Amazighe (IRCAM)) was created. Its mission is to contribute to the promotion of the Amazigh culture by participating, along with government departments and within the framework of public policies, in the creation of favorable conditions for integrating Amazigh into education, the media and public life in general, at the national, regional, and local levels. The discourse of political parties has itself been marked by this new policy, and some organizations decided to claim the constitutionalization of Amazigh, which has recently been adopted.

Despite the reluctance of, and reservations from, some conservative as well modernist circles, the evolution of the political environment, thus, offers a historic opportunity to the Amazigh language and culture- an opportunity which should be used to revitalize Amazighness.

2.1.2 The Socio-Economic Environment

Amazighophone regions have an average poverty rate of around 20% and an index of precariousness around 44% (see poverty map, HCP). Some areas are prosperous, such as the Souss plain with agro-industry, tourism and fisheries; the Berkane region, with agro-industry; rural districts in the Middle Atlas, with the cutting of cedar; the Rif with the communes of

cannabis; and the south-east with mining and tourism, etc. However, the wealth is monopolized by promoters often coming from outside the region so much so that the profits are not distributed evenhandedly.

The socio-economic precariousness of Amazighophone areas forces the rural population to exodus to urban agglomerations. The rapid urbanization in the areas of internal migration and that of the rural centers which are traditionally Amazighophone has been accompanied by the decline of the Amazigh language and culture. Generally speaking, Morocco is experiencing an unprecedented growth of its urban population: it increased from 29.15% in 1960 to 35% in 1971, to 42.7% in 1982, to 51.4% in 1994, and to 55% in 2004. There ensued a process of linguistic and cultural assimilation of the Amazighophone population in urban areas, with the main beneficiary being Moroccan Arabic. In addition to this, there is the weakness of economic and social elites from Amazighophone regions, except for some family or individual successes.

It appears that the economic environment presents real threats to the Amazighophone regions whose populations are victims of poverty and precariousness; therefore, they migrate to urban centers where the Amazigh language and culture are themselves precarious and, only exceptionally, benefit from intergenerational transmission.

2.1.3 The Cultural and Ideological Environment

If the Moroccan intellectuals have, in general, long regarded the discourse carrying Amazighness as potentially “jeopardizing” the unity of the country and the cohesion of the nation, it seems that a clear evolution favoring the recognition of the legitimacy of the Amazigh culture is emerging in the Moroccan cultural field since the country came out of the “years of lead” and the hegemony of the Arab nationalist discourse. What remains to be checked is the extent to which the Islamist movement can positively assimilate the discourse of the Amazigh intellectuals and the claims of Amazigh associations’ circles (see Yassine, 1999).

We can, therefore, say that the cultural and ideological environment is changing positively and is presenting more opportunities than threats to Amazigh.

2.1.4 The Educational Environment

Until the 2003 school year, the educational system has given no place to Amazigh. In 2009, nearly one-eighth of the school population in primary schools takes the Amazigh language course. Teachers are trained, teaching materials exist, and Amazigh studies tracks are created in some universities. In addition, the manager training centers of some institutions integrate Amazigh into their degree courses. This means that the Amazigh language and culture are present in education and training, and that this presence is expected to take shape, despite the slowness which hampers the generalization of the teaching, namely the lack of a legislative framework, the paucity of teachers and the poor quality of their training.

2.1.5 The Media Environment

The integration of Amazigh in the media landscape is taking place slowly. Despite some limited experiences, the situation of Amazigh in the written press remains precarious. In the fields of audio and audio-visual media, the situation is evolving positively. The Amazigh-speaking radio channel has existed since colonial times. As for television, it is only since 1994 that it has begun to accommodate Amazigh with the TV news and since 2006 with cultural programs. It is certain that with the creation of the *Tamazight TV* channel, the situation of Amazigh will evolve positively.

In general, we can affirm that the weight of Amazigh in the media field is growing despite the quantitative and qualitative weakness of production.

2.1.6 The Technological Environment

Amazigh remains very poorly served by technology. Indeed, apart from the designing of the Amazigh keyboard, some fonts and multimedia teaching materials, we can say that Amazigh does not exploit the resources offered by the new digital technologies yet. This fact reflects the objective

situation of this language and the culture it conveys, a situation marked by general backwardness and technological deficit.

2.1.7 The Legislative Environment

If one considers that the Royal Speeches and the Cherifian Dahirs have the force of law under Article 19 of the constitution, then one admits that the policy of the promotion of Amazigh declared in the speeches of King Mohammed VI (the Throne Speech and the Ajdir speech, 2001, among others) and the Dahir for the creation of IRCAM (2001) are the founding texts that legitimize Amazigh. However, despite the framework agreements binding IRCAM to the ministerial departments concerned, the absence of institutionalization mechanisms, including the lack of implementing legislation, prevents the execution of the state's political will in the framework of actions and actual operations in public policy. Some believe that the Achilles heel of the policy of promoting Amazigh resides in this dysfunction; this is what justifies the claim for the constitutionalization of Amazigh so as to ensure juridical and legal protection of Amazigh linguistic and cultural rights. As a matter of fact, Amazigh raised recently to the rank of an official language.

2.2 Internal Diagnosis: Strengths and Weaknesses

The elements of the internal diagnosis of the situation of Amazigh are related to the specifications that are proper to the language. These are related, on the one hand, to its status in the broadest sense, and, on the other hand, to its corpus, i.e. its internal structure.

2.2.1 Status

The concept of *status* refers to the position of the language on the institutional, social and individual levels. The assignment of status to a language may be *de jure* or *de facto*. It is done *de jure* via legislation, ideally in the constitution. It is also done *de facto* by the natural exercise of linguistic exchanges in society by speakers who utilize languages in written or oral uses with or without formal functions.

The sociolinguistic attributes of Amazigh form a network of properties which help to define its status. It is, thus, a variety whose indigenous character provides it with historical legitimacy. Amazigh is also a language endowed with vitality, as it is supported by a large community of speakers that employs it for aims of communication. It is also supported by a creative oral culture which, while renewing, is becoming increasingly written and somehow transmitted intergenerationally. In terms of genetic relatedness, it is a language which is independent of the other languages involved in the linguistic landscape of Morocco. Finally, it is essentially an oral language used in the form of regional and local dialects. However, in the framework of its teaching, its integration in the media, its use in emerging written literature and shyly in scientific research, Amazigh is part of a process of standardization that meets the needs of its promotion and its valorization.

The demolinguistic factor is an important element in determining the weight and value of Amazigh and, thus, its status. As such, one must remember that according to the minimum numbers of the last census, the population that speaks and understands Amazigh is estimated at one third of the total population. Amazighophone speakers form a population exceeding that of all people who speak and write Arabic and French.

The recent passage of Amazigh to the status of a written language has been made possible thanks to the adoption of the standard Tifinagh alphabet developed by IRCAM and adopted as the official writing system in the teaching of Amazigh. This event marks the beginning of the revival of the Amazigh language and culture and makes them join, albeit somewhat modestly, the club of written languages.

The translation activity is also a factor which makes it possible to gauge the weight of a language and assign a particular status to it. Regarding Amazigh, the translation which takes Amazigh as a source language is still limited to some ethnographic literature works, while target translation knows a few significant titles of international literature, especially French literature.

Publishing in Amazigh remains weak notwithstanding the promising momentum it has witnessed within the context of the policy of promoting the Amazigh culture actuated by IRCAM; this has resulted, over a five-year period of time, in a number of publications in Amazigh which went well above the total number of books published in that language since the independence of the country.

Ultimately, Amazigh acquires a de facto status. It is a national language historically and culturally, and one that fulfils the functions of a mother tongue, a regional and local vernacular and a language which is taught. Moreover, Amazigh and the culture it conveys are the medium of Amazigh identity expression driven by an emerging social movement and a large community of speakers which gradually expands its range of uses and functions. Finally, the status of Amazigh is undergoing a qualitative change with its gradual institutionalization thanks to the political will which is expressed in the Royal Speeches and which augurs a *de jure* recognition.

2.2.2 Corpus

The diagnosis of the corpus of the language concerns the state of the structures of grammar in a broad sense. The main finding in this regard is that Amazigh consists in the sociolinguistic reality of a set of regional and local dialects whose speakers communicate with each other more or less easily even if they belong to remote areas. Indeed, the phenomena of structural convergence and divergence are a double phenomenon characterizing the grammar of Amazigh. That is why we speak of the underlying unity and surface diversity of Amazigh. It is still the common denominator of all the languages of the world, albeit to varying degrees.

Dialectologists have mainly studied the particularities of some dialects, sometimes in great detail, but large syntheses highlighting the phonetic, morphosyntactic and lexical similarities and showing the unity of the structure of the language (Basset, 1952) are rare. In contrast, linguists, especially those adopting a theoretical approach concerned with identifying the structural regularities of the grammar of the language, think that the unity of the deep structure of the grammar of the varieties allows one to speak of an Amazigh language. However, in reality, the concern to

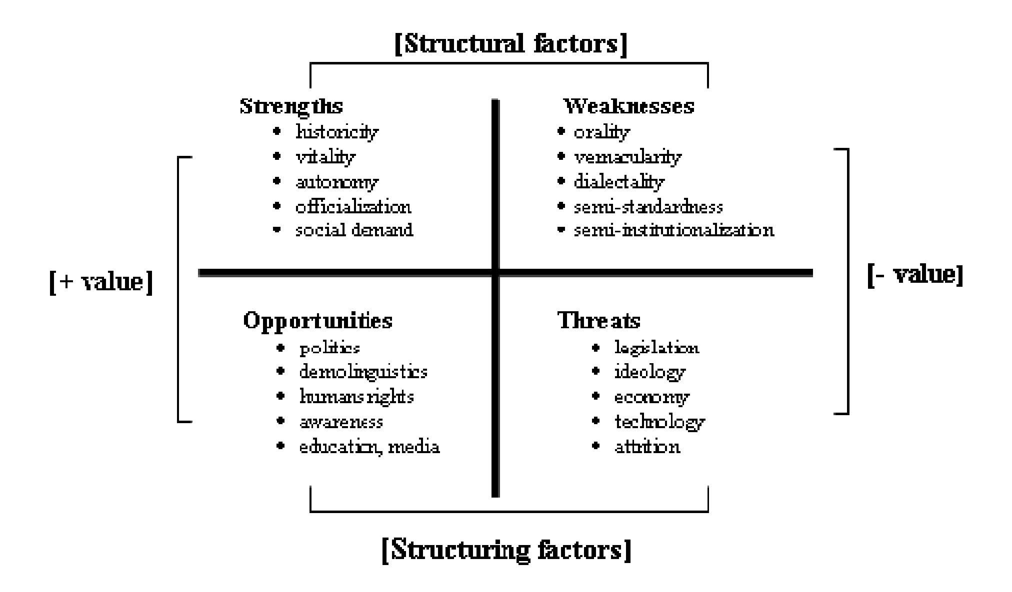
emphasize the unity of the Amazigh language is expressed primarily in the works that are part of the process of planning its corpus in view of its standardization (Boukhris et al., 2009; Boukous, 2009).

To assess the strengths and weaknesses of Amazigh in terms of its corpus boils down to gauging the ability of the structures of this language to allow its users to express in various communication situations their emotions, ideas, knowledge, and know-how through an elaborated code. From the point of view of the logic of standardization, there is no choice but to accept that the dialectalization of Amazigh, which is reflected in the divergence in terms of phonetic, morphological, lexical, syntactic and rhetorical structures, is one of the structural weaknesses of Amazigh, unless variation is also considered an expression of the richness and vitality of the language. From the perspective of the communicative function of the language, we readily admit that what makes the strength of a language is its serving as a medium of interaction within the widest possible spectrum, providing users with converging structures which make it possible to better meet their oral and written expression needs in varied situations of social interaction. In this regard, we must add that the significant deficiencies the Amazigh lexicon presents in terms of terminology and specialized vocabulary impede its ability to be a *modern language* which is appropriate to its new status and its new functions, especially in the domains of education, training, media, and modern cultural production. However efforts are being made by IRCAM in order to make up for this deficit.

2.3 The SWOT Matrix

The fiigure below represents the SWOT matrix for Amazigh. Reading along both the horizontal and vertical dimensions, the matrix provides the results of the diagnosis of the situation of the language. The vertical reading allows, firstly, assessing the strengths and weaknesses of Amazigh according to structural factors and, secondly, to assess the opportunities and threats provided by the environment by taking into account structuring factors. As for the vertical reading, it makes it possible to determine the positive [+] or negative [-] value of the language, depending on whether the networking of structuring parameters and structural

parameters promotes endogenous strengths and opportunities available to the language in the environment or, conversely, generates weaknesses and threats handicapping the language.



The SWOT matrix for the diagnosis of Amazigh

In conclusion, we may say that the diagnostic evaluation of Amazigh in synchrony reveals a situation marked by a reality and a tendency. The reality relates to the fragmentation of the Amazigh dialects, making it a liability and black mark against them. As for the tendency, it is related, on the one hand, to the developments the status of Amazigh is witnessing under the new cultural and linguistic policy for its promotion and, on the other hand, to the efforts to plan its corpus, namely through neological creation and the standardization of its structures.

In terms of the heuristic approach, we have so far proceeded to the dismantling of the system itself by examining each of its components on its own. In the remainder of this work, we will prioritize the reconstruction of the system so as to have an overall understanding of the process of the revitalization of Amazigh in order to propose a model for the strategic analysis of language planning.

3. Strategic Planning

To remedy a situation that could ultimately be detrimental to the Amazigh language and culture, both in the context of the national policy to promote Amazigh and in the wake of the millennium goals of UNESCO aiming at promoting cultural and linguistic diversity, it turns out to be necessary and urgent to develop and operationalize a strategic planning couched in this perspective. The success of the revitalization program of Amazigh undoubtedly depends on controlling the strategic planning process to be implemented both at the level of designing the vision and that of defining the mission and executing the necessary actions and processes to achieve the desired objectives. Starting from the general definition of strategy as a vision and a long-term action plan intended to achieve a goal and reach objectives, we may say that strategic planning combines the development of a strategic plan and the implementation of an action plan relating thereto (see Porter, 1982; Mintzberg, 1994).

Considering that the development of language is one of the levers of the revitalization of Amazigh, we can ask: In what ways does Morocco have a strategic plan to design and implement the process which defines the vision, policy and objectives of the revitalization of Amazigh?

3.1 Political Vision

Basing ourselves on the diagnosis established, we note that Amazigh is in an advanced situation of precariousness primarily because of the minoritized language status which, objectively, makes of Amazigh a language which is a candidate to join the category of languages sentenced to die in the twilight of the third millennium by the implacable law of social determinism. However, upstream, the community's awareness of this danger is reflected in the Amazighophone urban elites, generating, accordingly, a process of resistance of the Amazigh language and culture in a non-institutional framework due to individual research and studies, and through the activities of associations (see Ouaazzi, 2000). In the long run, the goal of the proponents of this movement is to make Amazigh a language which is able to serve as a medium of communication, as well as a language of work and cultural creation in a modern society. This goal can

be a challenge if we take into consideration that the general tendency for precarious languages is to regress and that very few languages have benefited from the effects of a successful revitalization process, what some sociolinguists call *reversing language shift* (see Fishman, 1991, 2001; Fisher, 2001).

The terms of the problem can be posed as follows: given the precariousness that characterizes the overall situation of Amazigh, what are its chances of revitalization so that it could meet the challenges facing it? And in what way can Amazigh escape the dismal fate of endangered languages (see Crystal, 2004)?

In order to answer these questions, it is necessary to place the issue of preserving and revitalizing Amazigh in the perspective of the new policy to promote Amazigh announced in the speeches of the King (the Throne Speech and the Ajdir Speech in 2001). This general framework certainly allows the appreciation of the political parameter of the issue, but for the sake of efficiency, it is necessary to develop a project of strategic planning which defines the long-term vision, for example in the horizon of 2050, allowing to translate into actual public policies the society project intended to provide the optimal conditions for the revitalization of Amazigh.

Indeed, after centuries of institutional marginalization that have forced the Amazigh language and culture to the wall, a combination of favorable circumstances resulting from conditions, some of which are local and others global, provides opportunities for revitalization that should be captured, evaluated and deepened.

In 2001, on the occasion of the Feast of the Throne, the King of Morocco gave a speech in which he stated the beginnings of a new cultural policy which recognizes the cultural diversity of the country; and in this context, he announced the state’s support for the promotion of the Amazigh culture by creating an institution specifically dedicated to this mission. On 17th October of the same year, the King organized in Ajdir, a locality in the province of Khenifra in the Middle Atlas, the ceremony of putting the Cherifian seal on the Dahir creating and organizing the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture (IRCAM) in the presence of various

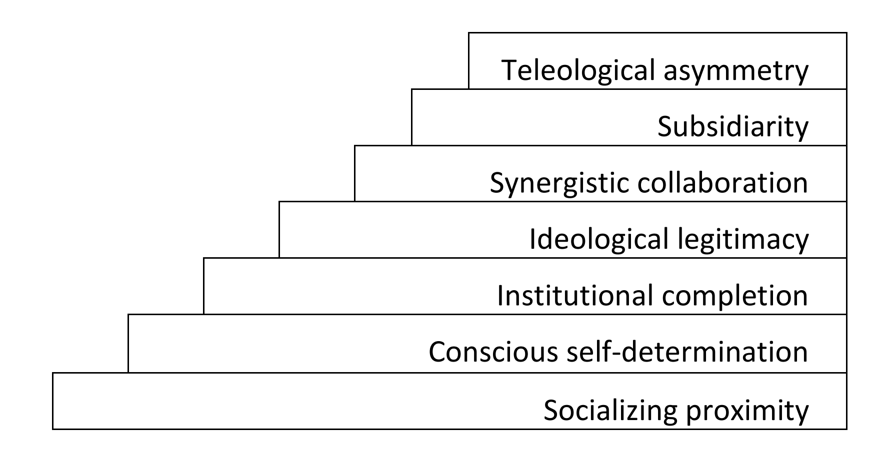
components of the nation related to politics, labor unions, religion, culture, economics and associations. In this speech, the King asserted that Amazighness is an integral part of the historical heritage of Morocco, is a culture shared between the different components of the Moroccan people, and is, thus, the prerogative of no one exclusive group; adding that its promotion is a national responsibility, while insisting on the fact that it cannot be used for political purposes. These statements expresses the basic decision for the policy to promote Amazigh, and they derive their legitimacy from Article 19 of the constitution granting the King the power to legislate as "*the Supreme Representative of the nation, the Symbol of its unity, the Guarantor of the permanence and continuity of the state (...), the Protector of the rights and freedoms of citizens, social groups and communities (...)*."

Indeed, this new policy contrasts sharply with the ideology that created the dominant ideological discourse within the national liberation movement during the protectorate period and the discourse of the political class and the cultural elite in the post-independence era. This ideology takes Arab-Islamism as a basis, which recognizes as legitimate only the Arabic language and the culture it carries. To a large extent, the Amazigh language and culture were considered illegitimate and worthless products; worse, they were considered vestiges of the pre-Islamic era and the ferments of national division. This means that the state's policy concerning the management of the linguistic and cultural resources of the country has undergone a historic change favoring the recognition of Amazighness. This political and ideological choice, albeit important, is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition to initiate a reversal in the process of the revitalization of Amazigh within the framework of public policies. Indeed, other levers must be set off in this perspective. The officialization of Amazigh within the Moroccan Constitution is undeniably the ultimate lever of the revitalization process.

3.2 Language Revitalization Process

The issue of the attrition of minority languages, *de facto* or *de jure*, is posed in a more or less conscious and thoughtful fashion in the communities facing this problem. Going back to the work of Fishman (ibid.)

on the phenomenon of *reversing language shift* and the obstacles to which it is submitted, Landry et al. (ibid.) propose a grid for analyzing *language revitalization* on the basis of the case of French in Quebec. For analytical purposes, we will ourselves go back to a model that has been compactified from this research. The virtuous chain of this process is based on seven principles in gradual levels represented in the figure adapted from Landry, R. Deveau, K. and Allard., R, 2005; they range from the individual and endogenous group level to the society and state level passing through the level of the exogenous group:



Principles of ethnolinguistic revitalization

This layered representation of the model of language revitalization accounts for the systemic nature of the process; it does not imply that the model is linear in that action, progress and achievements can be made at a faster pace in an intermediate or higher level than in a lower level. Achievement can also be concomitant or simultaneous in different levels, etc. This means that the laws of interaction between social determinism and the self-determination of the community, on the one hand, and between the behavior of the majority out-group and the minority in-group, on the other hand, do not proceed in a mechanistic logic.

3.2.1 Intergenerational Transmission

The process of language revitalization operates primarily at the micro level, that of the individual, family and community. Therefore, the first principle is that of socializing proximity. It presupposes linguistic and cultural socialization by the family and the community, parental transmission of language and culture, the territorial concentration of in-group members, dense and intricate intra-group social networks, and ties of solidarity among the members of the group.

If we judge on the basis of studies on Amazigh (Boukous, 1981; El Aissati, 1993; Bouhjar, 1993; Er-ramdani, 2003; De Ruiter, 1989), while the intergenerational transmission of the language and the culture is ensured in rural areas, it is only more or less so in urban and migrant contexts. This has substantial implications for the demolinguistic reality of Amazigh and portends an uncertain future for the Amazighophone community. This is all the more so since the latter is becoming less and less concentrated in its natural setting and since the links of solidarity within the group tend to slacken with the predominance of urban culture based on values such as self-interest, individualism and competition. The question here is how far the Amazigh community is able to reclaim the values of solidarity and mutual support, to adopt linguistic and cultural behaviors that preserve the language and culture in a deterritorialized environment. Conversely, if the territorialization of Amazigh is a *sine qua non* condition for its continuity, then the policy of effective regionalization may be a possible framework for the management of cultural and linguistic diversity in the sense of preserving Amazigh. We raise here the thorny question of territorial rights and personal rights, a legitimate question which needs a real political, economic, linguistic and cultural interest and which deserves to be dealt with in detail in the perspective of safeguarding and promoting Amazigh, absent the implementation of an option that promotes bilingualism and biculturalism at the national level.

3.2.2 Awareness, Voluntarism and Autonomy

The principle of conscious self-determination acts as a crucial lever in the conscious and deliberate resistance of communities involved in the

process of language revitalization. Indeed, it is remarkable throughout the history of mankind that the perenniality of languages and cultures is positively correlated with the degree of voluntary and conscious commitment and involvement of the communities. For example, unlike other communities, the Hispanophone (Castilian-speaking) minority in the U.S.A. represents almost the only one to resist the steamroller of Anglophony and even to gain ground (see Pedalino-Porter, 1990). The case of French in Canada is instructive in this regard; major efforts are undertaken by the Francophones to protect their language against English (Maurais, 1987; Landry et al., 2005). The situation of Hebrew in Israel is certainly the most lesson-laden; it represents the extreme case of a virtually dead language, which has only survived as a liturgical language and to some extent as a pidgin (Yiddish) before the creation of the Israeli entity. Today, Modern Hebrew is a separate language, a language of identity, a national and official language, a language of work, education, scientific research and technology (Harshav, 1993; Nahir, 1987), a language miraculously saved by the conscious and autonomous will of a state and a community.

The diagnosis of the situation of Amazigh has revealed a general tendency of attrition of the language in social and economic conditions imposed by urbanization and the subsequent assimilation of the Amazighophone community; demolinguistic evolution in favor of Colloquial Arabic, which has thus become the socio-cultural norm, is a direct consequence thereof. Consequently, it is natural that the socializing proximity is weakened. The effects of this weakening can only be neutralized, or at least reduced, by the deliberate choice of the group that opposes social determinism by a resolute awareness of the need to adopt linguistic and cultural behaviors; through these behaviors is affirmed the commitment to identity for a conscious, deliberate and self-determined resistance of the community which supports its linguistic and cultural future. The emergence of a leadership within the group is able to create the conditions for an investment of the community institutions.

Are the conditions for the fulfillment of the principle of conscious self-determination in Amazighophone circles satisfied? Studies addressing some aspects of this issue indicate that autonomous self-awareness is

limited to a fringe of the urban elite, while the majority of the members of the group seem to bend under the yoke of social determinism (Boukous, 2004; Bennis, 2006; El Kirat, 2004).

The emergence of a community leadership within the association movement is at pain to assert itself because of the precariousness of the economic tissue, the backwardness of political consciousness and the weight of traditional allegiances, which is evidenced by internal dissension and the incapacity of the movement to transform itself into a social movement and build a community leadership.

3.2.3 Investment of Institutions

The process of language revitalization may feed on a micro environment which ensures the intergenerational transmission of the language and culture, and voluntary awareness of the irreducibility of community identity, but it must also be accompanied by institutional completeness by the investment of institutional, social, cultural and educational areas. Indeed, the revitalization of Amazigh goes through the appropriation of the school, radio, television, print media, public space, the cultural field, festivals, theater, film-making, signs, signage, and so on. Thus, the more present Amazighness is in these areas, the more consolidated the construction of group identity.

The integration of Amazigh in school, university and the media, despite many obstacles, has started to have a significant impact on the consciences. In a short time, this has improved the status of Amazigh from a devalued vernacular to a prestigious, taught language. Transition to writing plays an important role in this development, especially the renewal of Amazigh culture through neo-literature, audiovisual production, theatrical performances, commercials, signs, etc. Thus, Amazigh has become a socio-cultural product which has acquired value by leaving its ghetto, its isolation, and the backwardness of its economic environment to conquer new institutional spaces and expand the repertoire of its sociolinguistic functions and its domains of use to effectively integrate modern life.

3.2.4 Ideological Legitimacy and Institutionalization

In multilingual situations characterized by the dominance of the language of power, the majority language, which is official and prestigious, predominates in an ideological discourse which legitimizes this language and devalues others under various pretexts such as lexical poverty, dialectal variation, the inability to serve as an efficient language of work and as a medium of large scale communication, and so on. This applies to the Moroccan situation where Amazigh has so far suffered from a lack of ideological legitimacy.

Indeed, ideological legitimacy is a necessary condition for the revitalization of Amazigh. Royal Speeches and the Dahir for the creation of the IRCAM, the official documents granting to Amazigh a position in the institutions entrusted with education, training, culture, media, human rights, the writings of a political and ideological nature claiming the linguistic and cultural rights, etc. are all acts and documents which have a legal value and which legitimize Amazigh by granting it the *de jure* or *de facto* recognition from the state and the society. Nonetheless, it is still the case that the supreme legitimacy lays in the constitutional recognition, the Charter of citizenship, the Charter of education and training, and any official document which contributes to ensuring its legal recognition and effective implementation in institutions through public policies.

3.2.5 Synergistic Collaboration

Language revitalization also requires close collaboration between the community and the state as part of a global and integrated action plan and the top-down and bottom-up synergy between the various levels of the system. The search for synergy presupposes a political will from the part of the state in terms of planning for language revitalization and a community commitment in supporting the relevant action plan.

In this synergistic vision, the promotion of Amazigh can actually be seen only through a collaborative commitment between the state and its institutions, on the one hand, and the citizens and community organizational frameworks, on the other hand. For example, the integration of Amazigh in the educational system needs to be fostered by

the joint action of the government department concerned and the community. Thus, the regional academies of education and training should engage effectively in the implementation of the plan for integrating Amazigh in the framework of the central educational policy by launching Amazigh classes, providing teachers, offering training, acquiring and distributing textbooks, etc. On its side, the community must be involved in this action by creating parents' associations serving as an accountability framework which gives a sense of responsibility to educational authorities at the regional and local levels, by raising the awareness of parents to enroll their children in Amazigh classes, by motivating pupils, by encouraging extracurricular activities enhancing the socializing proximity that will contribute to the transmission of the language and the culture, and by helping to strengthen the awareness of the community as a whole. This vision implies a twofold criticism: a criticism of the bureaucratic attitude of institutional officers that can lead to inertia, blocking, or a negative attitude towards Amazigh by taking an ideological stance, on the one hand; and a criticism of the attitude of disinterest, disengagement or systematic rejection of institutional action on the part of certain fringes of the community, on the other hand. This means that the revitalization of Amazigh has a lot to gain by taking advantage of a synergistic, civic, responsible and efficient collaboration between institutional bodies and community frameworks.

3.2.6 Subsidiarity

The design and implementation of the strategic plan of language revitalization are supported at different levels of the system and of the hierarchy, each level having its power, its authority, its resources and responsibilities in complementarily and according to the subsidiarity principle. Indeed, the centralization of the power of decision-making and the concentration of responsibilities regarding the implementation of actions inevitably lead to the marginalization of the middle and lower levels of the system and, therefore, their disengagement in the process of language revitalization which leads to certain failure.

In the Amazigh domain, designing a strategic plan that targets the revitalization and promotion of Amazigh should be done through

consultation between the concerned institutions and the community frameworks, each party having its autonomy and prerogatives. The implementation of this plan requires, for its part, the involvement of regional and local bodies not only as a transmission belt for central decisions but also, and especially, as managers in the best position in the system to achieve an optimal fulfillment of the targeted objectives. Let us take, for example, the inclusion of Amazigh in the media landscape as the lynchpin in the process of revitalizing the Amazigh language and culture. Once defined, the foundations of media policy and the place of Amazigh in the public pole, the declination of the action plan into concrete operations and their implementation at national, regional and local levels should be based on delegation and accountability. Thus, programming, production, recruitment and training of human resources, communication and outreach policy, the language to be used and the content of programs, and so on, are issues to be managed at the levels directly concerned and involved.

3.2.7 Glocalization

The strategic planning of the process of language revitalization occurs naturally in the context of a systemic, global and local vision, according to the principle of teleological asymmetry based on glocalization. This vision takes into account the parameters of the macro and micro environments. The parameters of the macro environment reflect the major trends of the evolution of the language situation at the international level, issues of power between the dominant linguistic spheres, the effects of globalization on minority languages and cultures, the strategy of UNESCO in terms of the preservation of linguistic and cultural diversity, the foundations and the decisions behind the national cultural and linguistic policy, etc. The vision also takes into account the implementation of the latter in the context of a national plan for ethnolinguistic revitalization.

However, all planning on a global scale must be concerned about the local realities by integrating the parameters of the micro environment, namely the socio-cultural particularities and geolectal data proper to the communities in their living space under penalty of being inefficient and being useless. Therefore, the equation to solve is to manage the dialectical

relationship between a global-scale, trend-setting movement which goes in the direction of a massification and uniformization that are channeled by the dominance of a hyper-central model and an opposed movement that expresses itself locally in the form of resistance by the assertion of the specificities of the local cultures and languages. Evenhanded, ideal and sustainable management can be conceived in the context of *glocalization* (Trudgill, 2004; Boukous, 2009). The objective of such an approach is to promote ways, means and solutions which can be adapted to the realities of the group in its natural environment.

In the case of Amazigh, the central decisions in terms of expressing the state's political will, enrollment in public policies and statements of intent give legitimacy to the policy of promoting Amazigh. What remains is to provide a vision and framework for these decisions as part of an action plan with short, medium and long term goals as well as the appropriate means to achieve them. To be effective and efficient, this plan is part of a global partnership involving government institutions, those of the local collectivities and the formal and informal frameworks that are representative of the community. The conception and operationalization of the plan are, thus, undertaken at both the central and local ends of the chain.

In terms of the planning of Amazigh, this issue is very acute. For example, planning the lexicon presupposes a collaborative procedure involving institutional planners, i.e. the researchers at IRCAM, and representatives of the Amazighophone community, including external linguists, writers, poets and professionals such as teachers and journalists. This approach makes it possible to have a global view of the problem, to know the actual needs, to benefit from an established expertise, to pilot the testing of products, to assess their quality, and *in fine* to create the best conditions for their implantation in the target population.

The figure below adapted from Landry, Deveau and Allard (2005), illustrates the intergroup model of language revitalization. It represents the complex and systemic nature of the relationships between the spheres of the individual, the society, the state, and the globe. The first level is that at which is built the psycholinguistic development of the individual who forms

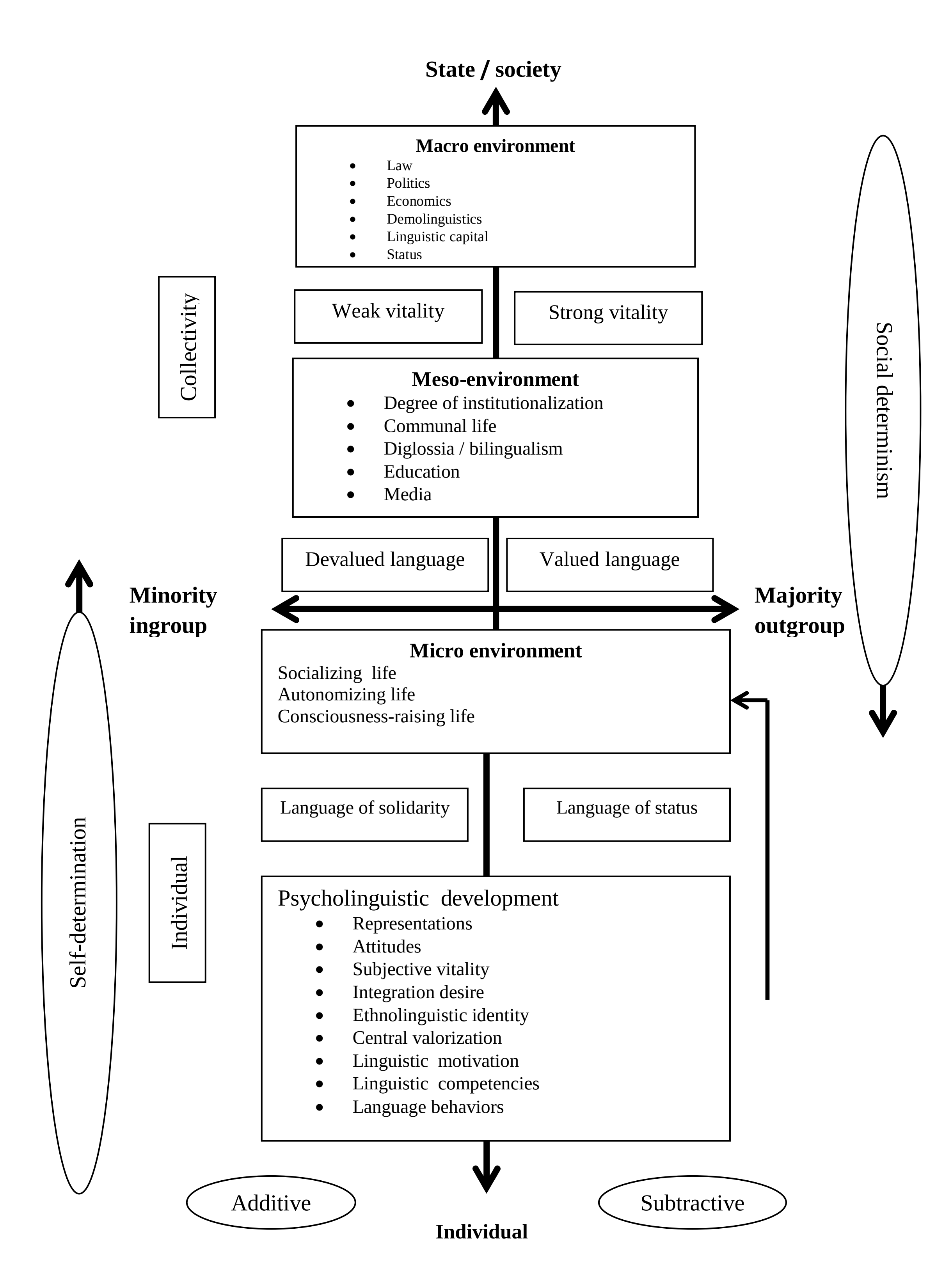
his identity through acquiring the attributes of his language. The second level is that of the collectivity which has control over the environmental conditions of the revitalization of the language (the institutional and social framework, and the political and legal framework). The relationship between these two levels is established in the dialectics of the social determinism which acts in the direction of the minoritization of the language of the weak group, on the one hand, and the conscious self-determination which expresses the will of the weak group to preserve and promote its language.

3.3 Revitalization by Planning

In the literature on the issue of the standardization of Amazigh, planning is considered primarily in terms of corpus planning, while the latter can be apprehended in a relevant and meaningful fashion only in a systemic approach in which determining a strategic vision is a prerequisite to any technical action on the structure of the language (see Boukous (ed.) (2003) and Ameur and Boumalk (ed.) (2004)). This procedure could be explained by the fact that the question has long remained confined to the reserved area of the linguist, even though it appeals directly to designers and strategists. Therefore, issues such as the following need clear answers:

(i) Do Amazighophones form a homogeneous linguistic community?
(ii) What are the challenges of the standardization of Amazigh?
(iii) What standard for Amazigh?

Examination of these two issues is necessary because ensuing from it are practical steps to follow in order to adopt a coherent approach and a rational procedure in dealing with the planning of Amazigh.



Model of ethnolinguistic revitalization

3.3.1 One Amazigh Language Community?

Even if there is consensus among sociolinguists in stating that no linguistic community is homogeneous (see Labov, 1972), asking whether there is an Amazighophone language community before considering a policy for planning the language is itself a prerequisite. The legitimacy of this question is an issue when one addresses the Amazigh question from an academic point of view using the tools of scientific analysis, but the fact of asking the question is not itself quite innocent from a political and ideological point of view. Indeed, the question might induce, instinctively, either a negative response or a positive one depending on the ideological imagination of the speaker.

Indeed, even an academic answer to the question can only be nuanced and detailed because of the vagueness in the definition of the concept of "linguistic community" (see Dua, 1981; Gumperz, 1982). A linguistic community is defined ideally as a social space for communication by means of a common language which is significantly much the same for all users and which ensures mutual intelligibility between the speakers and the groups. In this common political space lives a social body that identifies with this language. Applied to the particular situation of Amazigh, this general definition requires clarification. Indeed, politically, Amazigh is spoken by groups secluded in autonomous nation-states in the area which covers North Africa and the Sahel countries, without counting the Amazighophone communities in the Diaspora. Linguistically, it is a linguistic entity fragmented into dialects and varieties between which the difference in morphonological, lexical and syntactic structures may be as important as to render opaque the intercommunication between speakers from remote areas. The situation is much the same between the geolects of the North, Center and South of Morocco, although the difference has started to decrease with the development of media using the Amazigh language, the expansion of the teaching of the language and the organization of cultural and artistic activities in different cultural and linguistic areas grouping actors from different dialects.

Thus, if one focuses on the differences between the geolects by paying attention only to the surface phenomena of the language and knowing that

they objectively impede speech intelligibility, then one recognizes at least three linguistic communities which use Amazigh (Tarifit, Tamazight and Tashlhit); and, therefore, we will proceed with the planning within each geolect because, obviously, these same geolects are permeated by phonetic, morphological and lexical variation. If, however, we adopt a macroscopic approach which adheres to the major structural regularities that are present at the deep structure of the grammar of the language, while modulated by a variationist procedure which takes differences into consideration, then we can speak of *one* heterogeneous Amazigh linguistic community, and, thereby, the planning of the Amazigh language becomes a legitimate decision.

3.3.2 Planning and Standardization

We have so far used the two concepts "planning" and "standardization" without defining them. At this level of analysis, it is important to distinguish between the two concepts. Planning has at least four meanings:

(i) Planning as a process of reducing multilingualism in a given country or that through which variation in a given language is reduced or structured by the emergence of a sociolinguistic norm. This reduction takes place, so to speak, by itself, naturally and insidiously from religious, historical, political, economic, and technological phenomena;

(ii) Planning as a deliberate and planned process of linguistic change through conscious intervention on the status of the language by the state or groups to act on the mechanisms of language competition by favoring a given language;

(iii) Planning as a description of facts in a given reference framework and by means of appropriate methodological tools, especially in terms of corpus planning; and

(iv) Planning as a theoretical study and modeling and descriptive analysis of the dynamics of situations characterized by multilingualism and sociolinguistic variation.

The meaning of planning adopted in this work is a synthesis of the above; it includes intervention on status and corpus; the objective is, thus, both action on the functioning of the language market by legitimizing Amazigh and action on the structural resources of Amazigh in order to make it a powerful communication medium.

As for the notion of "standardization", it concerns primarily the planning of the corpus of the language. It is defined generally as the intervention on a given language to make of it a "standard" based on a linguistic norm defined in advance, as is the case in the lexical domain, for example, with the explicit choice of a term at the expense of others. The standard language is defined by three converging factors:

(i) The technical description of the norm;
(ii) The establishment of the norm in the circles of language professionals such as writers, artists of speech and institutionalized practices; and
(iii) The recognition of the legitimate norm at the social level.

The description of the legitimate norm makes it possible to achieve two technical objectives: clarify the "fundamental codes" of the standard language in reference works, namely writing, spelling, grammar and pronunciation; and compile language dictionaries, general dictionaries and glossaries, describing the meaning, form, usage, synonyms and antonyms of the normalized form with respect to variants.

Ultimately, language planning is a process which presupposes a strategic vision that defines language policy choices, choices noted down in the constitution and in legislation in the form of language laws regulating the use of languages in institutions and in the socio-cultural field. Because planning involves codifying the language norm and imposing it institutionally, it is clear that standardization has advantages and disadvantages.

Among the benefits that standardization may offer Amazigh, the following should be noted:

(i) It allows for better communication within the community;

(ii) It facilitates the unity of the community;
(iii) It strengthens the feeling of identity;
(iv) It facilitates integration into school and university education; and
(v) It can provide the cultural and linguistic basis for national identity.

However, the disadvantages are just as many, for standardization may:

(i) Reduce the richness of linguistic ecology;
(ii) Induce damage regarding the mother tongue;
(iii) Introduce a system of diglossia in which the standard variety holds the position of the prestigious variety and the non-standard dialects that of the low or vulgar variety ;
(iv) Generate a feeling of inferiority among the users of the low variety;
(v) Create a feeling of frustration among the speakers of the varieties overlooked or ignored; and
(vi) Promote the creation and symbolic domination of a new elite (the one which speaks and writes the standard variety) and the lowering of the status of the traditional elite (the one which speaks and/or writes the non-standard variety).

Should the review of the advantages and disadvantages of standardization and the recognition of the complexity of this operation indefinitely postpone the decision on the codification and standardization of the Amazigh language? Certainly not. It only means that standardization is not a neutral technical exercise; it is eminently the result of strategic planning in which policy options and the technical mastery required by the planner's profession play a significant role. That is why both vision and action must be carefully considered and be subject to consultation and collaboration between institutional, political and social actors in the play of the social axiomatic, which presupposes that before making a decision, pure cooperative games, pure fighting games of and mixed games based on negotiation and arbitration be regulated.

The objective is clear, however: It is to turn Amazigh into a language which is written and oral, and a language with its references at the disposal of all speakers; a language which is functional, accessible and uniform, and

which meets the needs of users in communication situations imposed by modern life. The task will not be easy, however. The major problem facing the planners is definitely that of variation. The variationist approach adopted by IRCAM seems realistic in that it takes into consideration the geolectal reality by treating in a first stage the *a priori* competing forms as forms pertaining to synonymy; hence, the choice of a standard form is left to the user. Then, in a second stage, a normalized form is favored, while leaving open the range of competing forms in order to raise the user's awareness to inherent variation in Amazigh as a whole. This approach is manifest in the textbook (see Agnaou, 2009) and in the reference grammar (Boukhris et al., 2008). It is undeniable that prudential rules must be observed to avoid creating a "linguistic monster" which is the result of an exclusive, *in vitro* work that may be rejected by users for many reasons. To avoid this pitfall, the standardization of Amazigh should be put into perspective considering it is a long-lasting process, taking advantage of a gradual and functional approach which makes it possible to develop variationist standards based on respecting the usual pronunciation in the regions and adopting the most common vocabulary and the mostly used morphosyntactic forms in the geolects. In all cases, preference should be given to converging forms at the expense of singularities so as to avoid unnecessary borrowings and marked neologisms. In the process, consultation is required, be it internal consultation, especially among linguists, educationists and literary people in order to avoid contradictions and inconsistencies, or consultation with the meso- and macro-environment, including confirmed speakers and experts in the field in terms of approach and methodology.

3.3.3 Which Standard Amazigh?

Any enterprise to standardize Amazigh presupposes clarifying the nature of the object to undergo planning. Indeed, when one speaks of "Amazigh", three options are open to the decision-maker, in the first place, and then to the planner: The supranational standard, the national standard and the regional standard. The identification of the "Amazigh" object is important because it induces a political choice, a theoretical approach and an operational procedure which differ from one standard to another.

3.3.3.1 The Supranational Standard

The supranational standard refers to the language which is supposedly common to the entire Amazighophone "community" in the Maghreb and the Sahel- "Tamazgha". The political choice of the supranational standard is unlikely given that it is not on the agenda of the governments, the political class of the Maghreb or civil society, not to mention the context of globalization, which rather promotes the major languages of communication and technological creation. As for the action plan to implement in the fulfillment of the procedures to standardize this language, its feasibility is highly unlikely as the cost would be exorbitant time-wise, money-wise, human-wise and material-wise, for a gain which is uncertain. Linguistically, the phonetic, morphological and lexical divergences between the dialects within different national areas are important; local developments are such that some linguists call into question the existence of *one* Amazigh language (see Galand, 2006). In terms of the establishment of this language, the difficulties would be enormous and local frustrations considerable, which would make the enterprise very hazardous. This option, thus, appears to be a utopia in the context of globalization, where even the position of strong languages seems to vacillate on the world linguistic board in front of the supremacy of English.

3.3.3.2 The National Standard

The national standard is to be built starting from standardization by the amalgamation of the geolects of Amazigh in the national arena. It is an option which is envisaged by the proponents of the unity of Amazigh within the framework of the national borders. The function assigned to this standard is to serve as a national, official and vehicular language providing the main functions of a modern language within a community founded on cohesion and collective identity awareness. It is, thus, obvious that the standardization of the national and official Amazigh is a lengthy undertaking. Under this option, the logically expected objective is the establishment of a national Arabic/Amazigh bilingualism and biculturalism, which requires making decisions at the constitutional and institutional levels (education, justice, central administration, territorial governance) as

well as at the operational level (measures of implementation and establishment). In terms of human rights, this option implies an approach in terms of personal rights, which might call into question the applicability of linguistic and cultural rights.

The conditions for the completion of this project fundamentally stem from the implementation of the principles of language revitalization outlined above (3.2), namely intergenerational transmission, voluntary awareness, the investment of institutions, ideological legitimacy, synergistic collaboration, subsidiarity and glocalization. These are so many prerequisites that can only be achieved in the long term if the conditions are met both at the individual and collective levels of the Amazighophone community and at the level of the state and the nation. Admittedly, the issues and challenges are immense when one is aware of the fact that some languages which are stronger than Amazigh strive to escape the red zone of endangered languages (see Fishman, 2001) and that others which are more powerful have not yet managed to reach the basic levels of the scale of the principles of revitalization (Landry et al., 2005). In these harsh conditions, would national, standard Amazigh not only be a vain wish that is the result of a euphoric, ideological representation of the cohesion of the "Amazigh community" and the successful outcome of the democratic process as a whole?

3.3.3.3 The Regional Standard

The regional standard may logically be derived from the planning process of the local dialects according to a methodology which privileges the sociolinguistic and cultural characteristics of each region.

This option offers indisputable advantages:

(i) Feasibility in terms of cost in time, manpower, logistics and finance;
(ii) Realism in terms of adequacy to the regional reality at the historical, cultural and sociolinguistic levels;
(iii) Social congruence in terms of representations, attitudes and motivation of the group;

(iv) Political acceptability in terms of negotiating power within the group and the emergence of a regional leadership;

(v) Governance by proximity in terms of territorial management. At this level, this option is in line with the regionalization policy advocated by the King in his speech on regionalization (2006); and

(vi) The territorialization of the standard can ensure the effectiveness of rights in terms of applying the principle of territorial rights, which are certainly less complex to manage than personal rights.

The disadvantages of the regional standard are numerous:

It accentuates regional division by strengthening particularities.

(i) It limits the chances of an endogenous development of Amazigh by the confluence of language resources.

(ii) It impedes the movement of regional, cultural expressions and limits their mutual enrichment.

(iii) It restricts the chances of Amazighness to form a community block which has a national leadership that is in a position to negotiate with the central authorities.

Finally, it is worth noting that in the statement of the state policy concerning the promotion of Amazigh, the national, regional and local options are all possible insofar as the three areas are considered legitimate spaces in which public policies concerning the promotion of Amazighness can be deployed (see the Ajdir Speech and the Dahir for the creation of IRCAM, 2001).

4. Social Determinism and Self-Determination

Throughout history, Amazigh underwent the contact of the conquering languages, namely Latin, Arabic, Spanish and French. Thus, it saw its space shrink, its speaking mass decrease, its homogeneity alter, its structures deteriorate and its socio-cultural functions decline. Amazigh has, therefore, been in a situation of deep precariousness. The factors explaining this situation are known. The most important of these are:

(i) The fact that Amazigh has a status in the Constitution still at the beginning of its institutional implementation, which reinforce it for receiving effective legal protection;
(ii) The weak institutional presence makes it fragile in the sectors that provide power, including the sectors of the economy, education and media;
(iii) Demographic reflux as well as linguistic and cultural assimilation in the context of migration contribute to reducing its social base; and
(iv) The weakness, if not the deficiency, of aware determination leads some fringes of the community not to consider the Amazigh language and culture as central identity values and, thus, to ensure only a weak intergenerational transmission of the language and the culture.

This analysis reveals the urgent need for a strategic planning based on a long-term, systemic view which is able to ensure conditions for the revitalization of Amazigh. This amounts to:

(i) Determining the nature and place of the policy for promoting Amazigh as part of the strategy of the state;
(ii) Evaluating the symbolic multidimensional issues locally and globally;
(iii) Defining the political status and the sociolinguistic functions of Amazigh ;
(iv) Controlling the process of implementing the vision in terms of planning the language structures and establishing the language and culture in its social and institutional environment;
(v) Deploying the adequate human, financial and material resources;
(vi) Monitoring and evaluating the whole process.

In this perspective, it is undeniable that strategic thinking is underway and that measures are being executed, especially in the areas of studies, research, education and media. The effects of this policy are beginning to yield results in terms of the revitalization of the language by broadening its socializing proximity, deepening awareness, institutional investment and the benefit of ideological legitimacy. Efforts should, however, be agreed on by the community, society and the state in terms of synergistic collaboration, the application of the principle of subsidiarity in the

glocalized governance and management of the process of revitalizing Amazigh in its entirety.

It is in this systemic approach that the process of planning the status and corpus of Amazigh is couched, with its specific issue, its variationist approach and its progressive procedure with respect to determining the standard and the procedures for standardization. This treatment, which may seem technicist, is nonetheless essential for the coherence of the project of recognizing the linguistic and cultural diversity of Morocco and the effectiveness of its implementation. Ultimately, the issue to manage is one related to the conflicting relationship between social determinism, which acts as a force for assimilation, and community self-determination, which acts as a counterweight to this force.

Chapter 7

Cognitive Capital and Revitalization

1. Linguistics and Ideology

1.1 Amazigh Dialectology and Colonization

Around the world, the colonial conquest was accompanied by an obvious interest in "exotic" languages for practical purposes deriving essentially from the need to understand and speak the languages of the colonized peoples and know their culture, beliefs and representation of the universe. Knowledge of/about these languages has thus primarily obeyed political reasons relating to the conquest of space and its wealth and to the domination of 'indigenous' peoples. It is within this context that colonial dialectology developed not only with certain prejudices and some effective political practices but also with important achievements in terms of linguistic science (see Calvet, 1974). The case of Moroccan Amazigh is in all respects similar to that of other languages that have experienced the practice of colonial dialectology although showing some delay when compared to other Amazigh dialects such as Kabyle. Indeed, the Amazigh dialects of Morocco began to be a subject of science only belatedly with the colonial conquest and then during the post-colonial period thanks to the contribution of modern linguistics with research conducted by both researchers that are native speakers and others. This research has naturally renewed awareness of Amazigh in its phonetic and phonological, morphological, lexical and syntactic dimensions. The main effect of this research was its contribution in assigning to Amazigh a cognitive capital which makes of it a domain of scientific production benefiting from the achievements of science and knowledge.

1.2 The Necessity of Double Criticism

Apart from manuscripts in Arabic script bequeathed by some Amazigh scholars, few works were devoted to the Amazigh language and culture before the colonial period. This means that the dialectological studies conducted during this period have contributed, on the one hand, to making of Amazighness an object of scientific study and, on the other hand, providing the Amazigh language and culture with conditions for their preservation and promotion under the new impetus given to the new linguistic and cultural policy of the independent Maghreb states.

The overall purpose of this text is to contribute to recording the history of scientific research on Amazighness from the perspective of an objective (and not exclusively ideological) assessment of the colonial scientific legacy and the postcolonial research. Its specific purpose is to provide a succinct review of the studies done in the field of *Berber dialects* during the colonial period in the Maghreb. It goes without saying that this is not so much an exhaustive description of the works done as it is an analytical and critical survey of the general contours of the scientific production of *Berberists*. It is necessary to clarify here that the aim is much less a criticism which would settle scores with a period in our common history; rather, the aim is to provide a detached assessment of a scientific production attempted in a historical perspective to measure what it brought us to help Amazigh studies catch up with history as well as the perception which the way we were looked at carried along.

2. The Reference Framework

2.1 The Political Framework

The interest of Westerners in the languages of *overseas countries* took place within a historical period that corresponds to the industrial and commercial growth in Western Europe as well as to the political and military expansion of Europe's most powerful nations, especially England and France (see Miège, 1961; Julien, 1994.)

Colonization proper was preceded by political action and the collection of information according to the well-known principle *know the men to exert action on them*. Thus, the first grammar of Amazigh goes back to 1844, and it is owed to a diplomat, Venture de Paradis. It is significant in itself that this book was published with the assistance of the Ministries of War and Trade.

The languages of the colonized or the to-be-colonized countries aroused the interest of Europeans for at least three reasons:

(i) As a means of communication, the languages make it possible to come into direct contact with the colonized communities.
(ii) As a vehicle of culture, the languages provide a means to know the habits and customs as well as the mental representations of the colonized, particularly through their oral tradition and intangible heritage.
(iii) Finally, as a basic tool, the acquisition of languages facilitates research in other fields of knowledge such as ethnography, geography, history, etc.

2.2 Actors

If scientific research was in general determined by the colonial policy, one should, nonetheless, be suspicious of the simplistic idea of considering all the dialectologists of the colonial era blind and zealous agents of the colonial policy and the General Residency. One must avoid confusing the different categories of actors who dedicated themselves to the task of describing the languages, namely the military, the missionaries, and the scholars. In fact, the training and immediate objectives of these actors are not the same:

(i) The military-interpreters wanted above all to provide officers of Indigenous Affairs with grammar textbooks and bilingual glossaries which would help in rapidly acquiring the basics of the language of the communities to *pacify* or *control*. General Hanoteau is the best example of the military Berberists, and his monographs on Kabyle (1858) and Tuareg (1860) have for long served as models for

epigones. In addition, many descriptions of Berber dialects were instigated, promoted and published under the auspices of the military authorities of the General Government of Algeria.

The principal “Berberist” officers, in addition to Hanoteau, were Biarnay, Renisio, Loubignac, Jordan and Aspinion. Interpreters who were native speakers, usually Kabyles, were associated with the colonial enterprise, including Abès, Boulifa, and Cid Kaoui.

(ii) As to the missionaries, their goal through the study of the languages of the colonized communities was to evangelize Amazighophone communities, which were incorrectly thought to be superficially Islamized. The most famous was Father de Foucauld (in the Tuareg domain) and the Spanish missionaries Br. Ibañez and Br. Sarrionandia.

The missionaries generally played an important role in the development of Amazigh dialectology. Father G. Huyghe compiled (Kabyle-French and Chaouia-French) “dictionaries”, which were among the first bilingual glossaries; Father Ch. de Foucauld, an officer who became a monk, wrote the most substantial dictionary in the field of Berber lexicography (*The Tuareg-French Dictionary*, 1951). More recently, the Fathers Blancs of Fort National made outstanding contributions to the study of the Amazigh dialects of Algeria, while the works and materials owed to J. M. Dallet, J. Delheure and J. Lanfry are invaluable work tools as well.

(iii) As for the academics, they had as a main concern describing the structures of languages with a primarily scientific goal in mind. The principal researchers were the Bassets, the Laousts, E. Destaing, G. Marcy, A. Roux, Picard, L. Galand, and P. Galand-Pernet. The academics took over after the military conquest and *pacification*. L’Ecole Supérieure des Lettres d’Alger (the Superior School of Arts of Algiers), then la Faculté des Lettres d’Alger (the Faculty of Arts of Algiers) and l’Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines (the Institute of High Moroccan Studies) in Rabat provided a host of researchers whose works are of great value.

However, even academic studies can be used for political purposes, as the *confession* of E. Laoust (1920: 128-129) bears witness:

> *The idea of utility has never been absent from the linguistic research started and continued for scientific purposes. For us, as was the case at the time of Hanoteau, the study of dialects has a more practical purpose and a more immediate usefulness as regards the administration and domination of this country (Morocco). Knowledge of Arabic has been sufficient as long as our relations with the Berber tribes were confined to treating the general interests of the conquest and pacification. However, our officers and our military interpreters are the first to recognize how important it is for them to communicate directly with their citizens without having recourse to intermediaries, who are sometimes untrustworthy. Accordingly, the organization of a practical teaching of Berber dialects has been one of the first concerns of the Administration.*

(iv) To these three categories of Berberists should be added the group of Amazighophones, the best known of whom are Ben Sedira, Boulifa, Ben Khouas, and Cid Kaoui, trained by the military to be interpreters and/or by academics to be their associated teaching tutors. These Berberists of origin wrote grammars and compiled collections of texts and glossaries of their own dialects. Examples include works on Kabyle by Ben Sedira (1887) and Boulifa (1913), or other Berber dialects, such as Tachelhit by Boulifa (1909) and Cid Kaoui (1907), and Tamazight by Cid Kaoui (1907). This, it seems, is a fact that is typical of Algerian Berbers, namely the Kabyles. The emergence of a strong trend of Amazigh scientists was not to be witnessed until nearly a century later.

The case of Belkassem Ben Sedira is particularly interesting to consider. A native of Biskra, he was trained in one of the first French schools established in Algeria. Noted for his qualities as a gifted and assiduous student, he was sent to the Ecole Normale de Versailles, then to the Sorbonne in the care of General Gresley and of Duruy, the minister of Public Education. After his training, he was appointed professor of Arabic and Berber at the Superior School of Letters in Algiers. We are indebted to him for writing one of the first studies on Kabyle (1887).

2.3 Institutions

Amazigh studies have benefited from important institutional logistics founded on education, research and publication. Here are some data that show interest in the study of the Amazigh dialects.

2.3.1 Algeria

- (i) *Teaching Berber* at the Superior School of Arts and then at the Faculty of Arts of Algiers since the 1880s ;
- (ii) Creating the *Berber language certificate* in 1885 ;
- (iii) Establishing the *diploma in Berber (and Arabic) dialects* ;
- (iv) Granting a bonus to teachers who hold the *certificate* or the *Berber (or Arabic) diploma* ;
- (v) Teaching Berber at the Ecole Normale (Teacher's Training College) of Bouzareâ (Saïd Boulifa was its first laureate) ;
- (vi) The Fathers Blancs establishing the *Berber Documentation File* in Fort National; this file operated from 1946 to 1972; and
- (vii) Certain publishing houses of Algiers specializing in the publication of Berber and Arabic books, as is the case of *Jourdan*, *Carbonel*, *Typo-Litho*, etc.

2.3.2 Morocco

Immediately after the signing of the Protectorate in 1912, Lyautey created a set of institutions and publications whose task was to promote, supervise and centralize linguistic, ethnographic, historical, legal and political research. The main institution established in Rabat was the *Superior School of Arabic and Berber Dialects*, which became later the *Institute for Moroccan High Studies*. The *Committee of Berber Studies* was also created, and since 1915 it started publishing *Archives Berbères*, a journal which thereafter gave way to the *Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines*. The magazine *Hespéris* was founded in Rabat in 1921 and enfolded both *Archives Berbères* and the *Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Morocaines*.

The Institute also had its own *publications*. Academics like H. Basset, E. Lévi-Provençal, L. Brunot and H. Terrasse succeeded to its administration. As an incentive, the laureates received a reward.

Administrative and military corps specialized in the collection of linguistic, sociological, and ethnographic materials were also established. *Civil Controllers*, and especially *Officers of Indigenous Affairs*, completed research in various fields with unequalled skill. This research is usually published in *Archives Berbères*, *Afrique Française*, or *Revue de Géographie Marocaine*.

In France itself, the teaching of Amazigh was introduced at the *Ecole des Langues Orientales* (School of Oriental Languages) in 1913, a school devoted to training colonial executives. It was assigned to E. Destaing, and then after his death in 1940 to A. Basset, who served until his death in 1956, whereupon L. Galand took succession. In the areas under Spanish domination, namely the northern region and the southern region including Ifni and the Sahara, the Spanish protectorate also had its institutions, publications and executives with regard to research in ethnographic, historical, linguistic, and literary domains.

The pillars of the Spanish Arab and Berber tradition are:

(i) Institutions such as the *Instituto General Franco de Investigación y Estudios Hispano Arabe* (General Franco Institute for Spanish Arabic Investigation and Studies) in Tetouan, the *Instituto de Estudios Africanos* (the Institute for African Studies) in Madrid, *Las Escuelas de Estudios Arabes de Madrid y Granada* (the Schools of Arabic Studies in Madrid and Granada), etc. ;

(ii) Publications like *Cuadernos de Estudios Africanos*, *Revista de Tropas Coloniales* (which became *Africa*), *Mauritania*, *Revista Hispano-Africana*, *Revista Rifeñia* and *Tamuda* ; and

(iii) Actors such as the *Interventores*, missionaries such as Br. Ibañez and Br. Sarrionandia, and “researchers” such as Figueras, Domenech-Lafuente and L. Palacin.

To summarize the general conception that underlies Amazigh studies, let us cite an excerpt from the preface that the Resident-General Commissioner of France in Morocco, Army General Guillaume, wrote to the textbook of Lieutenant-Colonel Aspinion *Apprenons le Berbère*:

> *This so accurate and complete work is timely, given that the previous Berber grammars are currently nowhere to be found. It will be a valuable tool for the French who, aware of their mission in this country, have realized that to win the sympathy of indigenous communities, one must speak their language in the first place. Let it also be a testimony to the young officers and civil controllers whose task it is to control the Berber populations so that, like the author, they can understand the human reality of Morocco.*

It is worthy of note, finally, that besides the French and Spanish *Berberists*, there exists a group- limited in number but good in quality- of German (or German-speaking) academics who are specialists in oriental languages and are interested in Berber, namely Schuchardt, Stumme and Westermarck. This German *Berberist* tradition seemed extinct since the World War, but it revived since the 1960s with Brandt, Vicychl, Willms, Ibriszimov and others.

English *Berberists* did not make their appearance until the late fifties with Applegate, Abdelmassih, Harries, Penchoen, and Bynon.

3. A Generally Positive Assessment

The works on Amazigh dialects are divided as follows:

(i) Bilingual Berber-French and / or French-Berber glossaries, (for example Destaing (1920)), and Spanish-Berber glossaries (Ibañez, 1944, 1949) ;

(ii) Studies consisting of the rudiments of phonetics, a relatively detailed description of the nominal and verbal morphology, some elements of word syntax, texts of oral literature transcribed in Latin characters and a glossary (for example Laoust, 1918; Renisio, 1932).

(iii) Studies of lexicography and linguistic geography (for example Laoust, 1920; A. Basset, 1942; Galand, 1960) ;

(iv) Accurate studies treating a particular aspect of the grammar and generally related to the morphology (for example A. Basset, 1929) ;
(v) Synthesis studies (for example Marcy, 1931; and especially A. Basset, 1952) ; and
(vi) Chrestomathies including tales, legends, proverbs, ethnographic texts (for example Roux, 1942; Pellat, 1955).

The zeal of the describers was mainly shown in the monograph genre, particularly in the design of textbooks for teaching-learning the language. One can easily understand the motivations behind this choice. In contrast, detailed studies on specific points of the grammar are scarce.

The completed studies are synchronic descriptions which usually focus on a single dialect. The comparison is restricted to neighbouring dialects without ever being systematically extended to other Amazigh dialects, much less to the other languages of the *Hermitic* group or to Semitic languages.

The works proper are most of the time composed of a grammatical sketch consisting of a few rough elements of phonetics, the description of nominal and verbal morphology, ethnographic texts and a glossary. The classification of verbal modalities into forms, groups and types varies from one author to another, thus betraying the limitations of their non-systematic approach.

In addition, in many cases, the authors project the grammatical categories of French onto the grammar of Amazigh. This is particularly true of the Amazigh aspectual values that are treated in a similar fashion to the temporal and moral values of French. For example, Barany (1908) equates the preterit of primitive verbs in the factitive form of Ouargla to the tenses of French, namely the past indefinite, the past definite and the past anterior, the pluperfect, the past conditional, the past and the pluperfect of the subjunctive, the future anterior and the past infinitive. In addition to the descriptions of some dialects, one of the major contributions of the dialectology of the colonial era is to have laid out the contours of the linguistic map of Maghreb Amazighophony.

3.1 Algeria

According to A. Basset (1952: 4), one third of the Algerian population was Amazighophone. This population is divided into four groups located respectively in: (i) the north western and central Algeria, (ii) Kabylie, (iii) Chaouia and finally, (iv) the southern areas with the south of Oran, Mzab and south of Constantine.

The Amazighophone population is of variable density. It is estimated that Kabylie, the Aures, and Mzab group nearly 95% of the Amazighophone speakers of Algeria; the Kabyles are the largest group. The four areas thus isolated by dialectologists represent groupings whose dialects are homogeneous enough to be recognized as individual entities. However, variation (especially phonetic and lexical variation) is a fact which is attested sufficiently enough within each of these groupings to also make it possible to identify pockets in there.

The Algerian Berber dialects have been unevenly studied by the *Berberists* of the colonial era. On the basis of the bibliography given in A. Basset (ibid.), we note that:

- (i) 28 linguistic works are devoted to Kabylie, 13 of which are devoted to the dialects of Aït Iraten and Irjen. ;
- (ii) 23 studies are related to the dialects of western and central Algeria, 6 of which are dedicated to the dialect of Beni Snous and 5 to the Beni Menacer dialect ;
- (iii) 22 works have as an object the dialects of Chaouia, 10 of which are devoted to the dialects of the Aures ; and
- (iv) 14 studies focus on the southern dialects, 6 of which relate particularly to the Mozabite dialects.

We thus note that, from a quantitative perspective, the Amazigh dialects of Algeria have been the object of relatively important studies which perhaps outnumber those devoted to Moroccan dialects.

3.2 Tunisia

A. Basset (ibid.) estimated the proportion of Amazighophone speakers in Tunisia as approximately 1% of the total population, nearly 40% of which are concentrated in Djerba. These speakers are divided into 13 communities situated in the south of Tunisia, 5 of which are in Djerba. The furthest community northwards is close to Gafsa. These communities are grouped in four groups located east of Gafsa, in Metmata, Foum Tataouine and Djerba.

The linguistic situation of Amazigh in Tunisia, as described in A. Basset (ibid.), has changed a little since then. Indeed, Penchoen (1968) noted that in Sened only the elderly still speak Amazigh. Note that, at the beginning of the century, this community was exclusively Amazighophone (see Provotelle, 1911). However, the villages of Matmata and Foum Tataouine are still fully Amazighophone. In Djerba, Guellala remains totally Amazighophone while Sadouikech is half-Amazighophone and Adjim is one third-Amazighophone only. In Elmal, Amazigh is spoken by a few hundred people.

The linguistic literature devoted to the Amazigh dialects of Tunisia is neither plentiful nor thorough. Indeed, only a dozen works were intended to study the language and/or oral literature. Moreover, when these works are considered closely, there is no choice but to accept that with the exception of *L'Etude sur la Zenatia de Qalaat Es-Sened* by Dr. Provotelle (1911), there is no large scale description. This study comprises general elements of the phonetics and morphology of the dialect of Sened, 7 transcribed and translated texts and a French-Berber glossary (of various dialects). Moreover, the interest aroused by the dialects is primarily historical. In most of the studies conducted, the point was to collect data- which is by the way often scattered and incomplete- on the structure of one of the chain links of Eastern Amazigh, some links of which, like those of Egypt and Libya, are in conditions that contribute little to their preservation, much less to their promotion.

3.3 Morocco

Of the Amazigh dialects of Morocco, it is the dialects of Tashlhit that have been studied most. The works of the German researcher Stumme on the dialect of Tazeroualt go back to the late 19th century. The different levels of the structure of these dialects are described: The lexicon (Cid Kaoui, 1907; Jordan, 1934; Destaing, 1920, etc.) and morphology (Laoust, 1918, 1936). On the dialects of Central Morocco, there are some important studies like that of Loubignac (1924) on the dialects of Zaïan and Aït Sgougou and that of Destaing (1920) on the dialect of Aït Seghrouchen. Ethnographic texts have aroused the interest of several researchers, like Roux (1928, 1942), Laoust (1928) and Pellat (1947). The Rifian dialects seem to be the stepchild of colonial research. It should be noted, however, that there are three voluminous studies: Pedro Sarrionandia (1905), Biarnay (1917) and Renisio (1932), and the Diccionarios of E. Ibañez (1944, 1949).

Linguistic geography studies acknowledge the existence of three groups of Amazigh dialects, each of which is itself heterogeneous.

This tripartite division of Amazighophones into the *Zenete*, *Beraber* and *Chleuh* groups shows accordingly the existence of three sets of relatively individualized dialects corresponding to dialectal areas which are also referred to currently as *Tarifit*, *Tamazight* and *Tashlhit*. Besides this manifest diversity, there was no failure to stress, on the one hand, that within each group there is a more or less deep homogeneity, and, on the other hand, that the real differences are only evident at the extreme points of the area that the dialects cover, so much so that there never is an abrupt break between the dialects. Finally, it was also noted that, between the three areas, there are *transition zones* where the dialects intertwine.

4. From a Common Sense Object to a Cognitive Capital

In the various studies devoted to Amazigh dialects, there are general comments on the phonetics and sometimes the articulatory description of sounds, but there are no rigorous analyses of the phonological system, nor are there instrumental phonetic studies. Some specific studies have been devoted to phonological issues (see Schuchard, 1916; A. Basset, 1946;

Applegate, 1959), but whole sections of the phonology remain to be brought forth, namely the status of phonological vs. phonetic units, the combination of sounds, the syllable, stress, intonation and rhythm.

The lexicon was of interest to Berberists only insofar as it was necessary to have dictionaries that would facilitate learning the dialects. There are some bilingual glossaries, French-Tashlhit (Destaing, 1920), Tashlhit-French (Jordan, 1934), Spanish-Tarifit (Ibañez, 1944) and Tarifit-Spanish (Ibañez, 1949). Lexicography, as a technique for compiling dictionaries, and lexicology, as the analysis of the paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations between *words*, are not part of the concerns of the *Berberists*. A large gap characterized the lexicon: There is no language dictionary in the Amazigh domain.

The study of the shape of words was the main concern of *Berberists*. We, thus, have a large number of descriptions of verbal and nominal forms of the dialects. Besides some general summaries (e.g. Marcy, 1931 and A. Basset 1934, 1952), there are accurate descriptions of the verb, the most impressive one being that of A. Basset (1929) on verb themes. Other studies are devoted to the noun (A. Basset, 1932; Marcy, 1934), the pronouns (A. Basset, 1933; Marcy 1933), government particles (Destaing, 1934), etc. Two things must be acknowledged, however:

(i) Verb forms with the study of patterns and themes interested dialectologists more than did nominal forms;
(ii) The syntactic functions of the word- and even more those of the sentence- occupy a marginal position in the conducted work.

Finally, let us raise an issue of method, which is ultimately a theoretical problem. The morphological descriptions offered by *Berberists* generally fall into two opposing transoms: Either the picture is painted in broad strokes and, therefore, inevitably superficial; or, on the contrary, the studies swarm with comments, *rules*, *exceptions*, *nota benes* and *notes* which give the impression of motley groups lacking any apparent systematicity.

When all is said and done, it seems that most of the work fulfilled during the colonial period is characterized by the lack of investigative tools capable of organizing the facts into rigorous taxonomies and of bringing out significant generalizations about the workings of these facts.

Colonial research in the field of Amazigh dialectology has, thus, produced relatively diversified works in terms of their nature, their purpose, their methods and the sectors invested. The works carried out are quantitatively of significance and qualitatively of unequalled value. A fairly impressive amount of work on Amazigh dialects has been carried out; however, when the researcher takes time and struggles to make a critical assessment of this work, he notices that in addition to systematic and thorough studies, there are descriptions which are not that satisfactory and which are in any case difficult to exploit. In making an inventory, we realize that the different levels of the grammar of Amazigh have been unevenly studied; phonology has received only cursory attention, and lexicology is no better off. However, morphology has been described relatively thoroughly, while the syntax of the sentence is almost totally absent from the studies conducted.

The researchers involved in analyses which are of a fundamental nature or in application studies can only enjoy the work done by predecessors. It is incumbent upon them to separate the wheat from the chaff, to fill the gaps by drawing on the new techniques of linguistic description, considering the facts of Amazigh within the framework of recent linguistic theories while having the pragmatic concern of responding to social expectations, particularly in terms of the teaching of Amazigh. If the French language is to us, in the words of Kateb Yacine, a *war booty* to be used without a complex in literary creation, we can also say that the science produced during the colonial era on the peripheral languages and cultures is a booty to be wisely appropriated outside of any ideological timidity.

Postcolonial Amazigh linguistics received two significant contributions. First, there is the contribution of L. Galand (2002), who has capitalized and improved the Berberist dialectology of the previous period and has durably marked the next generation in terms of training and research. Secondly, there is the contribution of the new scientific community that has been

enriched since the 1970s with Western linguists and Amazigh native-speaker linguists. This conjunction of renewed dialectology and modern linguistics has enabled Amazigh to constitute an original, successful, scientific sub-field in the global field of linguistic research. This is evidenced by the work done in phonology, morphology and syntax, and lexicology. This generation has itself trained other linguists who are now teams that supervise Amazigh linguistics students in universities. It is hoped that these graduates in linguistics will be taking over in the domain of training as well as that of research, be it basic or applied research.

The institutionalization of research is another new phenomenon that has helped strengthen the position of Amazigh by providing it with permanent structures that provide the human, material and logistic resources necessary for its development and its implementation in education, media, cultural production and public life in general. It is the role assigned partly to the High Commission for Amazighness in Algeria and the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture in Morocco, and in part to academic institutions, including Amazigh departments and tracks.

5. Conclusion

In addition to the booty represented by colonial dialectology, the achievements of modern linguistic research are undoubtedly a cognitive capital that strengthens the position of Amazigh in its competition with other languages coexisting with it in the Moroccan linguistic market. Thus, benefiting from the contribution of the theories and methods of modern linguistics, Amazigh moves from a non-scientific object to an independent language-subject that is liable to an appropriate planning of its structures, particularly at the lexical level, and to relevant implementation measures in various institutions. Thus, Amazigh escapes from the field of common sense, dominated by approximate, superficial and socially biased approaches to benefit from efficient cognitive approaches and thus integrate the field of knowledge. This passage from a common sense object variety to a language endowed with a cognitive capital reinforces the process of the revitalization of Amazigh.

Chapter 8

Normalization and Revitalization

1. Social Context and Linguistic Structure

In linguistic theory, the relationship between linguistic structure and social structure is problematic. Abstracting away from the principled position expressed by de Saussure in *Course in General Linguistics* on the *social nature of language*, language as a *social convention*, and so on, linguistic theorists in general consider language and society two autonomous objects, each of which should give rise to a specific perception. In other words, they dismiss from their concerns the effect of external variables on linguistic structure.

The theoretical and methodological assumptions of structural linguistics made it possible to produce a series of works which are the basis of recognizing linguistics as a model human science. However, many researchers, who by the way have diverse backgrounds (sociolinguists, ethnographers of communication, enunciation theorists, philosophers of language, pragmaticists, etc.), call into question the reductionism of structural linguistics. Their fundamental point of convergence is the study of language in context.

Sociolinguistic research falling within the purview of this general issue aims at demonstrating that the idealizations of structural linguistics can be

outdone by an approach that examines "*the structure and evolution of language within the social context formed by the language community*" (Labov, 1976: 258). This community constitutes a language market within which the co-existing languages entertain symbolic power relations determined by the structure of the relationship between the social groups using these languages.

As part of this general problem, the aim of the present chapter is to analyze the variation that characterizes Amazigh as used in urban areas (see Boukous, 2009). Amazigh has often been regarded as a rural language, which explains why the studies devoted to it aimed essentially at examining rural dialects. However, with rural exodus, the Amazighophone population is becoming more urban.

Considering unrealistic the null hypothesis which assumes as axiomatic the impermeability of linguistic structure to the social factors associated with its use, we will hypothesize that, in the social structure of Morocco, a process of linguistic convergence is taking place which reduces the inter-dialectal variation under the influence of external factors, chiefly urbanization. Specifically, the hypothesis postulated in this analysis is that, in an unprecedented ecological system, an irreversible process of homogenization is at work in the structure of Amazigh. This process is characterized by the reduction of linguistic forms that are socially and culturally marked, and, concomitantly, by the imposition of a standard which homogenizes the sociolinguistic corpus and uses of language.

2. The Survey

Based on a survey conducted in the city of Agadir, the analysis proposed here has three parts. We will begin by highlighting the facts of divergence among the phonological systems underlying the phonetic diversity which characterizes the Amazigh dialect of Agadir (ADA). Then we will focus on revealing the convergence process between these dialects. Finally, we will try to put forth hypotheses about the representation of the linguistic *habitus* of the ADA speaker-hearer. Consideration of these issues should help in developing a theory of the imposition of the sociolinguistic norm.

This is a case study that is couched in the sociolinguistics of language in urban areas. It is based on an empirical approach which consisted of the collection of linguistic data in the social context through direct observation and interviews with a representative sample of the population of Agadir. The analysis proposed here is exclusively qualitative in that it seeks primarily to study the process of linguistic convergence that occurs in a context characterized by intra-dialectal variation.

2.1 The Population

The target population is the Amazighophone population of Agadir. The sample on which the survey was conducted consists of 60 subjects. The independent variables retained are age, gender, place of birth and occupation. The characteristics of this sample are as follows:

(i) Age: 18 to 62 years ;
(ii) Gender: 30 subjects were males and 20 females ;
(iii) Place of birth: 40 subjects were born in the countryside (namely in Ihahan, Ida Outanan, and Ida Ousemlal) and 20 in the city (Agadir) ;
(iv) Occupation: 6 socio-professional categories were retained: traders, fishermen, civil servants, employees, pupils/students and housewives. Each category is represented by 10 subjects.

2.2 The Area

The choice of the city of Agadir as the place of the survey is explained by the fact that it is the area where urbanization has produced the most intense linguistic and social intermixing process in the south-west. In fact, the city of Agadir is the main industrial center of Souss. Because of its economic influence, it is an important center attracting the wage-earners of the secondary and tertiary sectors. These wage-earners come from the city itself or are members of the Amazighophone population in the region. However, especially since its reconstruction after the 1960 earthquake, the city has never ceased attracting workers, employees, civil servants and entrepreneurs coming from remote areas, often Arabophone ones. Consequently, the linguistic situation prevailing in the city is marked by language diversity; the languages that coexist there are in the order of

importance Amazigh (the Tashlhit dialect), Colloquial Arabic, Standard Arabic, French and to a lesser extent the languages of tourists.

2.3 The Urban Dialect

The dialect of Agadir (ADA) is a variety of Tashlhit. It is a heterogeneous dialect by virtue of the fact that it amalgamates different dialects conveyed by allogenic speakers. This heterogeneity is manifested at the phonetic level by the coexistence of allophones. Moreover, ADA is mainly in contact with Colloquial Arabic, which provides it with many lexical borrowings which are the source of the intrusion of a number of phonemes in its consonantal system. However, under pressure from both internal and external factors, the heterogeneity of this system tends to homogenize.

ADA is a composite dialect. Indeed, an informed speaker-hearer will recognize three dialects in the phonetic diversity that characterizes ADA, namely the *occlusive*, the *spirantizing*, and the *sibilant* dialects. These are relatively individualized dialects; nonetheless, there is such a degree of mutual intelligibility between these dialects that they form a single linguistic entity (the Tashlhit dialect) and their users the same linguistic community (the Tashlhitophone community).

Exclusively consonantal, the variables examined are the following: *b, t, d, k,* and *g*. Vowels are not considered for the simple reason that the vowel system of Tashlhit is invariant; it is composed of three phonemes common to all dialects: *a, i* and *u*. The linguistic data analyzed here is taken from Boukous (2009).

2.4 The Interviews

Since the purpose of this chapter is to highlight the impact of society on linguistic change, individual, guided interviews were conducted with a sample which is presumed to be representative of the target population. The interviews are based on common themes, including trade, sea fishing, the city of Agadir and tourists. This technique has the advantage of leading interviewees to perform a lexicon which is shared by the different social categories and that contains the phonological variables targeted by the analysis. To supplement the data supplied by interviews, an oral

monitoring and validation questionnaire was administered to a few individuals chosen at random.

3. System and Language Variation

In this section, the analysis will focus on describing the divergences existing in the consonantal system of the dialect of Agadir. The initial question to elucidate is whether there exists an *Amazigh dialect of Agadir*. In our attempt to answer this question, we digress to state the problem of phonological convergence and divergence more clearly.

3.1 Phonology

The Amazighophone speakers of Agadir use dialects which differ with regards to some elements of the phonological and lexical system. The lexicon is eliminated from this study and is examined in this book in connection with borrowing. By scrutinizing the interviews with informants and establishing the inventory of the consonant articulations attested in their performance, we obtain the following system:

- Labials: *b, ḇ, m, f*
- Dentals: *t, d, n*
- Sibilants: *s, z*
- Liquids: *l, r*
- Emphatics: *ṭ, ḍ, ẓ, ṣ, ṛ, ḷ*
- Palato-alveolar fricatives: *š, ž*
- Palatals: *k, ḵ, g, g̱*
- Labio-palatals: k^{w}, $\underline{k}^{w}$, g^{w}, $\underline{g}^{w}$
- Velars: *x, γ*
- Labio-velars: x^{w}, γ^{w}
- Uvular: *q*.
- Pharyngeal: *ħ, ɛ*
- Laryngeal: *h*

Each of these consonants may be a geminate, except the spirants *ḇ, ḵ, g̱* whose geminates correspond to the stops *bb*, *kk*, and *gg*, respectively.

Not all the sound units presented above are part of the performance of any real speaker. They form a theoretical phonological system which actually encompasses the phonemes of the different dialects. It can be stated that the system in question is part of the competence of the native-speakers of ADA in that they correctly interpret all the sound units in this system, if not utter them concretely. Let us deconstruct this global system in order to identify the dialects of which it is composed.

3.1.1 The Occlusive Dialect

The *occlusive* dialect differs from the *spirantizing* and *sibilant* dialects by the fact that it has an occlusive basis, i.e. the labial *b* and the palatals *k* and *g* are stops in this dialect. This dialect is reflected in the performance of the native-speakers of Agadir, that of speakers originally from the surrounding tribes (namely Imsgginn, Aksimn, Achtoukn) and that of those originating in the eastern part of the Anti-Atlas (the Ida Oukensous, Ida Ouzekri, and Isouktan tribes, etc.) and Ait Baâmran and Akhssass plateaus.

3.1.2 The Spirantizing Dialect

Spirantization is a phonological process by which some stops change into spirants, namely the labial and palatal stops. In this case, the phonemes *b, k* and *g* are realized as *ḇ, ḵ* and *g̱*, respectively. It is the dialects of the tribes of the southern High Atlas (namely Ihahan and Ida Outanan) that bear this mark. The majority of speakers whose phonetics is spirantizing are originally from the Ihahan and Ida Outanan tribes. *Ihahan* speakers are mostly fishermen, while *Itanann* speakers are rather traders (clothing and bazaars).

3.1.3 The Sibilant Dialect

This dialect is characterized by assibilation, the phenomenon by which the dental stops *t* and *d* are realized as the *s* and *z* sibilants, respectively. This phonetic marking is characteristic of speakers originating from certain tribes in the western side of the Anti-Atlas, in particular Ida Oultit, Ida Oubaâqil and Ida Ousemlal. The members of these tribes who settled in

Agadir- and throughout Morocco- are concentrated almost exclusively in the tertiary sector, especially in the food trade.

The succinct description of the properties of the consonantal systems of the dialects that co-exist within ADA makes it possible to measure the facts of convergence and divergence between these dialects. Thus, it is clear that the facts of convergence outweigh those of divergence between the dialects, and it is precisely the degree of convergence in the identity and function of the sound units which explains the high level of mutual intelligibility between the speakers of these dialects.

3.2 The Reference Variety

The facts of convergence should not, however, obscure the differences that characterize the three dialects that have just been described. Let us concentrate on clarifying these differences by considering the occlusive dialect as the reference variety. The arguments supporting this decision are the following:

(i) The *spirantizing* and *sibilant* dialects are perceived by the speakers of ADA as being allogenic dialects.
(ii) They are internalized as such by the very speakers of these dialects.

These two facts are demonstrated through the interviews conducted. Here is a testimony:

> *I did the primary school and junior high school studies in Imouzzar, Ida Outanane, and then the Baccalaureate and college in Agadir. My linguistic beginnings in this city were sometimes painful. With my friends, it was continuously snubs and jokes about the accent of the people from my original place. To avoid being the laughing stock of the city folks, I used to speak Arabic ... It was worse because I had both the Arabic and Tashlhit speakers of Agadir against me. This damn accent also stuck to my French and the teacher kept correcting me; so, I had a complex, especially with girls. It took me a lot of time to get rid of it. I do not know if I managed to speak like the people of Agadir.*

(Mr. T., 22 years old, student)

4. The Process of Imposing a Sociolinguistic Standard

It, therefore, appears, on the one hand, that ADA is a variety in which dialects that diverge on certain elements of their phonology coexist and, on the other hand, that these differences tend to disappear under the influence of internal and external conditions. Now, let us see how extra-linguistic factors intervene in the process of homogenization which is underway in this dialect, particularly the factors related to imposing the occlusive standard.

4.1 The Sociolinguistic Norm

The keen awareness that individuals have of issues of communication in the socialization process leads them, for instance, to substitute a more prestigious dialect for theirs. The following interviews nicely illustrate this phenomenon. The subjects interviewed are part of the sample which participated in the survey conducted for the needs of this study. They represent the attitude of the speakers of the non-occlusive dialects, who show a sense of *linguistic insecurity* in an environment which is not that permeable to linguistic difference:

(1)

> *At the beginning of my stay in Agadir, people here laughed in my face when I talked as I used to do in my small village in Ihahan. Gradually, I realized that their dialect was not totally like mine. Of course, we were all Tashlhit speakers; we understood each other, but there are words that are not the same and that I pronounced in one way and that they pronounced in another. Over time, I started to talk like them so as not to be different.*
>
> (A. L. 58 years old, fisherman)

(2)

> *As a young girl, I suffered from my accent and my pronunciation of Amazigh, especially at college. Because of this accent, the girls in the city considered me backward, a bumpkin. The boys allowed themselves a certain slackness with me just because I talked differently ... I chose the Arabic language studies. I managed well in written exams, but in the orals the teachers laughed when I pronounced certain words. To overcome this handicap, I forced myself to do exercises in diction and correct pronunciation. Now it is better.*
>
> (F. S. 20 years old, student)

To understand the significance of these testimonies, it is necessary to make a digression that will lead us to identify the general facts of the problem on a macroscopic scale, and then return to the microscopic level, namely to ADA.

The Moroccan language market is invested by varieties that have attributes, functions and differentiated domains of use (see Boukous, 1995). It is structured in such a way that the varieties which provide symbolic profits, namely Standard Arabic and French, occupy, with varying degrees, a privileged position in the cultural, social and economic bodies; Amazigh, on the contrary, is objectively marginalized as a result of the exercise of the laws that govern this market. The languages that represent a low or devalued capital form themselves language sub-markets which have their own scale of values and where local varieties are in competition.

ADA offers precisely an example of a stratified language sub-market even if it is over-dominated in the functioning of the laws of the global language market. Indeed, the legitimate (dominant) phonological norm is represented there by the *occlusive* dialect. The other two dialects, on the contrary, are regarded as rural; accordingly, the variables that mark them- $\underline{b}$, $\underline{k}$, $\underline{g}$, $\underline{k}^w$, $\underline{g}^w$ in the *spirantizing* dialect and the assibilation of *t* and *d* in the *sibilant* dialect- are interpreted by the Tashlhitophone population of Agadir as indices to (spatially) locate their users, i.e. the southern High Atlas for the speakers of the *spirantizing* dialect and the Western Anti-Atlas for the speakers of the *sibilant* dialect. In addition, these variables function as linguistic idiosyncrasies that are socially discriminating insofar as they represent determined socio-professional groups, i.e. fishermen for the *spirantizing* dialect and traders for the *sibilant* dialect. In addition, social values are associated with these linguistic markers in the cultural *habitus* of subjects. Thus, unlike the fishermen, the merchants of the Anti-Atlas are seen as individuals that are on top, individuals who are greedy for gain and who have austere habits. The following testimony illustrates this judgement:

> *I was born in Agadir, and I speak Tashlhit, Colloquial Arabic, Classical Arabic and French. I like my mother tongue, but I understand that it is not my mother tongue which will give me a job (...). Amazigh is not well esteemed, but, you know, it also has its value, particularly the one spoken in Agadir; it*

has its beauty, its prestige, especially in comparison with that of the countryside. I am able to recognize easily the Tashlhit speakers who are from Agadir and the others, especially from their pronunciation; I have no problem identifying the poor fishermen, the rich merchants and also the Arabs who learnt Tashlhit. I know how I behave towards them from their language.

(Mr. T., 32 years old, employee)

4.2 Sociolinguistic Hypercorrection

Feeling a sense of linguistic insecurity, the speakers of the peripheral dialects practice an overt self-censorship on their linguistic performance by eliminating the stigmatized variants. This situation sometimes leads to what Labov (1976) calls *hypercorrection*, resulting from the need to unreasonably apply the prestigious language norm. Thus, eager to acquire the dominant occlusive norm, some speakers of the *sibilant* dialect, for example, proceed to an excessive *de-assibilation*, systematically replacing *s* with *t* and *z* with *d*, which leads to producing ungrammatical morphemes. Below are some examples taken from the interviews with the subjects belonging to the Ida Ousemlal group:

asdl	*atdl	"lid"
ifrs	*ifrt	"it is sharp"
tazart	*tadart	"fig tree"
azal	*adal	"day"

The phenomenon of hypercorrection occurs particularly among the speakers of the second and third generations in urban areas who want to appropriate the language norm represented by the urban dialect which is considered *evolved*, *civilized* and *modern*, as opposed to peripheral dialects perceived as *archaic*, *uncouth*, *rude*, and so on. Here is a testimony:

When I arrived in Agadir, I was 12, and I worked in a grocery store ... Because of my mountain accent, customers made fun of me; Agadir Tashlhit speakers called me abudrar and Arabic speakers called me Chliyeh ("little Berber speaker"). That annoyed me a lot. The kids upset me a lot. They always tried to swipe candy, and when I caught one of them, the others jumped over me and gave me blows shouting: "Abudrar! Chliyeh!" I ended up hating my language (...) I have made great efforts to learn the city dialect.

(A. A. 35 years old, trader)

What also makes the occlusive dialect prestigious as a central system is its phonological convergence with Colloquial Arabic and its openness to lexical borrowing. These two facts make it possible for speakers to avoid making phonetic interferences that are harmful to the learner of Arabic. Here are some examples from the recorded corpus of the speakers of the sibilant dialect:

Arabic	Occlusive	Sibilant	Gloss
ṭebṣil	ṭbṣil	ṭfṣil	“plate”
šebka	ššbkt	ššifk̠t	“net”
lbaṭel	lbaḍl	lb̠aḍl	“injustice”
lemdina	lmdint	lmzins	“city”
lemdad	lmdad	lmzaz	“ink”
lefnati	lfnati	lfnasi	“pins”

The occlusive dialect also serves as a relay in the process of learning Standard Arabic by reducing the possibilities of phonetic interference.

Using the terminology of Labov (ibid.), we would say that the occlusive, spirantizing and sibilant varieties function as *indicators* of belonging to identified language groups in the Tashlhit linguistic community in general. However, on the linguistic scene of Agadir in particular, these variants acquire different functions. Thus, stops become *markers* that reflect the effort of acquiring the dominant norm while spirantizing and sibilant variants are *stereotypes* whose realization is stigmatized. This change in the sociolinguistic functions of the variants reflects the process of linguistic homogenization that operates by imposing *de facto* the occlusive norm on the speakers of the *spirantizing* and *sibilant* dialects; in fact, the users of stigmatized dialects, thus, gradually neutralize the phonological marks of their respective dialects in order to become integrated in the dominant linguistic model.

4.3 The Sociolinguistic Habitus

The sociolinguistic norm imposes itself in the first place as a core value in the speakers' *linguistic habitus* (Bourdieu, 1982). In other words, speakers achieve not only competency in their native language but also a

linguistic habitus, a set of aptitudes which enables them to adopt the best communication strategy, to evaluate languages in terms of prestige, to judge their social efficiency, and ultimately choose the language that is likely to better serve their interests and give the most positive image of them.

How is the *sociolinguistic habitus* of ADA speakers structured? That is the question we will focus on now because it will lead us to understand the mental process of homogenization through the unification of the linguistic norm.

It has been suggested previously that the mutual intelligibility between the speakers of ADA is effective, despite the heterogeneity of the sound systems of the dialects that compose it. We will try here to support this assertion by formulating hypotheses about the conditions which make this mutual intelligibility possible. The examination of this issue will lead us to make a theoretical digression concerning the nature of the linguistic *habitus* to find out in particular whether its grammatical component consists of several independent systems or of a pan-system comprising subsystems.

In addressing this issue, the orthodox structuralist approach is to consider what has been referred to as ADA actually encompassing three independent systems that would better be considered in isolation in a pure synchronic fashion, *in themselves and for themselves*. In contrast, we argue that the *habitus* of the ADA user has an inclusive competence which makes him/her apt (i) to master the details of the phonetic system of ADA, i.e. both the similarities and differences at work in the system and (ii) to incorporate all the sociolinguistic aptitudes dictated by the laws of the language market.

4.4 The Representation of Variationist Competence

If we maintain the latter postulation, then it is advisable to conceptualize the way the components of this system are articulated. From the perspective of representational linguistics (Chomsky, 1980), we suggest two hypotheses to try to represent the structuring of the phonological

competence of the speaker-hearer of ADA: an inclusive competence and a parameterized one.

4.4.1 Inclusive Competence

If we conceive of the issue as part of a hypothesis which postulates that the phonological component of the grammar of ADA includes all the sound units used in the Amazighophone linguistic community of Agadir, i.e. the units of the three dialects inventoried and described in the previous sections, then we will have a representation in which the grammar will consist of three systems. The underlying sound system will thus include segments common to the occlusive, spirantizing and sibilant dialects in addition to *archisegments* representing *lectal* (inter-dialectal) variants, i.e. /B, T, D, K, G, K^w, G^w/. This representation implies that the phonological component of the grammar has two types of rules, phonological rules and sociolinguistic rules whose respective functions will be:

(i) The phonological rules will transform underlying segments into phonetic realizations; thus, the archisegments are converted into stops, spirants or sibilants according to the dialect, while maintaining the other features. This concretely amounts to establishing for each of the dialects the following phonetic units:

Occlusive dialect:	b, t, d, k, g, k^w, g^w
Spirantizing dialect :	$\underline{b}$, t, d, $\underline{k}$, $\underline{g}$, $\underline{k}^w$, $\underline{g}^w$
Sibilant dialect:	b, s, z, k, g, k^w, g^w

(ii) As to the rules of a sociolinguistic nature, these govern the application of phonological rules depending on the appropriate context. That is, they control the choice of dialects depending on the pragmatic situation of communication, including the interlocutor, the domain of use, the function, the topic, and so on.

4.4.2 Parametric Competence

However, if we postulate that the underlying phonological system in ADA corresponds to that of the occlusive dialect, we will be saying that the spirantizing and sibilant dialects are derived from the former. It will then be up to the phonological rules to transform stops into either spirants or sibilants; opting for one or each of the consonantal categories is governed by sociolinguistic rules. Under this assumption:

(i) The phonological rules have the effect of transcribing the underlying units as their corresponding allophones in the spirantizing and sibilant dialects by assigning them the adequate phonetic features, i.e. [+spirant] and [+sibilant], respectively.
(ii) The goal of the sociolinguistic rules is to regulate the use of sound units in the appropriate social context following the rules discussed in the first hypothesis.

In the framework of the two previous assumptions, the organization of the grammar of ADA is noticeably the same, i.e. it consists of phonological and sociolinguistic rules whose function is identical. Both assumptions differ, however, in their overall conception. Indeed, the first one is more abstract and has a greater generalization power than the latter.

5. Social Determinism and Homogenization

The analysis provided herein has been devoted to envisaging how linguistic structure is related to social structure in the process of linguistic homogenization on the basis of the case of the Amazigh dialect of Agadir (ADA). The description of this process led to consider, on the one hand, aspects of convergence and aspects of divergence between the three different dialects which make up ADA, namely the occlusive, spirantizing and sibilant dialects; and, on the other hand, the sociolinguistic mechanisms of sound homogenization through the imposition of the occlusive dialect as the norm.

Although focusing on a particular case, the Amazigh dialect of Agadir, the analysis of the phonological structure of the dialect shows that the convergence process at work in this structure introduces an important

element of linguistic change under the effect of socio-cultural factors related to urbanization. The question that should be then asked is how far the diversity that characterizes Amazigh will decline.

The dialectalization which has hitherto characterized Amazigh is assessed in a differentiated way. Some see in it a richness that reflects the objective diversity of Amazigh cultural groups attached to their local specificities; others perceive in it a factor that hampers the unity of the Amazigh language, which should serve as a communication tool between Amazigh speakers from all regions.

So we see here how an objective phenomenon, namely the irreversible change affecting the structure of the language, has an important impact on the life of the Amazigh language in an environment that is changing irremediably. In this context, for Amazigh, the major challenge related to change is resistance to attrition, if not *language death*. Accordingly, the challenge is great for the Amazigh community in particular and the national community in general- a challenge that consists in providing the language with the optimal conditions of adaptation to change.

The interest of this analysis is to make an empirical contribution and a theoretical one. The empirical contribution consists in analyzing the process of homogenization of Amazigh in the context of urbanization. To my knowledge, this is the first piece of research within the framework of Amazigh, urban sociolinguistics. At the theoretical level, the value of this analysis lies in the postulation of hypotheses about the representation of the *habitus* of the speaker-hearer of ADA as a producer-interpreter of a heterogeneous sound system. This competence includes the linguistic rules governing the combination of features into segments and segments into morphemes as well as the sociolinguistic rules ensuring the contextual adequacy of the systems with respect to the needs of communication. Both types of rules interact to allow the speaker-hearer to communicate in adequate sociolinguistic situations, by using the existing dialects, and to evaluate them in terms of social efficiency.

The analysis of the internal dynamics of Amazigh in the urban context revealed, on the one hand, the competition between socially stratified dialectal varieties, and, on the other hand, the imposing of a sociolinguistic norm that reduces variation in the structures of Amazigh. Paradoxically, the homogenization of the variation inherent in the dialects constitutes a factor regulating the system of Amazigh and contributes to the consolidation of the revitalization process of this language.

Chapter 9

Linguistic Creativity and Revitalization

- Mon sang monte tous les jours. Tu fais avec moi une chose ?
- Quoi ?
- Nous brûlons vers l'étranger !
- Je meurs sur l'Espagne et sur l'Italie !
- Tu es venu avec mon vent !
(Fragments from a conversation)

gix kabṛan g laṛmi fṛansis. ddix g lgirra s munti kasinu g ṭṭalyan, ig lfsyan žninaṛ ṣala; sul ktix f lkaẓirna, baṭrwi, gerḍaffu, ḍḍrabbu, ṛṛasalima. walaynni abbanṣyu ziru. ṛža feḷḷah.
(Fragments from the speech of a veteran)

1. Language Contact and Creativity

It is very likely that an original Francophone person stands little chance of understanding the above utterances, yet they are performed by speakers who think they speak French. This is not the least paradox of language contact situations, in which it is the speakers of weak languages who have recourse to strong languages to satisfy the communication requirements imposed by modern life.

The use speakers can make of the languages present in their community depends on the extent to which they master these languages (see Weinreich, 1952). Depending on whether their mastery of these languages is satisfactory or not, speakers can resort to bilingualism, diglossia, code-switching or code-mixing. However, in any case, the ones concerned are usually speakers whose first language is less prestigious than the second language and is dependent because of its deficit in terms of status, functions and linguistic resources. In this situation, the speakers are pragmatic, employing various processes which manifest their creativity in overcoming the insufficiencies of their first language.

In order to lift the veil on this apparent paradox, we examine in this chapter the modes of the contact of the languages present in the Moroccan society. We begin by succinctly recalling the general configuration of the language market in which language contact occurs in order to understand how linguistic contribution takes place. We will then examine two examples of linguistic dependence, namely the dependence of Arabic on French and that of Amazigh on Arabic. Our goal is to show that, even in a situation of dependence, the vernacular languages have the capacity to assimilate borrowings by adapting them to their own structures. In the absence of lexical creativity that enables creating neologisms, this second rate creativity certainly represents one of the major resistance strategies minoritized languages resort to.

2. The Language Market and Language Contact

The presentation of the sociolinguistic functions of each of the varieties in use in Morocco can highlight the relations of dominance these varieties entertain; thus, it allows us to explain why borrowing occurs in one

direction rather than in another. In other words, we would like to understand why there is an unequal exchange between languages within the same community.

The Moroccan language market is invested by several languages, both national and foreign. The national languages are Amazigh and Arabic. Amazigh is subdivided into dialects, while Arabic is subdivided into Standard Arabic and Colloquial Arabic. As to foreign languages, these are mainly French and Spanish, both of which are the legacy of the colonial period. The sociolinguistic functions of these varieties are relatively distinct:

(i) Amazigh is the first indigenous language; currently, it serves as a privileged code in communication situations in which personal role relations within the Amazighophone community predominate ;
(ii) Colloquial Arabic is the transactional code par excellence, i.e. the language ensuring the widest communication ;
(iii) Standard Arabic is used, in its classical form, as a liturgical language and, in its modern form, as an official language ;
(iv) French continues, even after independence, to hold strong positions in the sectors of the economy, culture as well as technical and scientific education ; and
(v) Spanish is slowly but surely losing the positions it occupied during the colonial period; it is in serious competition with French as a first foreign language and is still present in areas in the northern and southern regions.

The languages present in the Moroccan language market entertain relations of sturdy competition. They do not have the same value in the market of symbolic goods. Some are a valued capital and, therefore, provide substantial benefits; this is basically the case of Standard Arabic and French. Others are insignificant as they are confined in marginal socio-cultural areas where Amazigh is used as a vernacular and Colloquial Arabic is increasingly used as a vehicular code. The interaction between these languages, thus, follows the general laws governing the language market. It results in continuous contact which imposes borrowing as a natural

solution to the problem of communication. However, borrowing generates interferences which can affect all levels of linguistic structure.

Faced with the problem of borrowing, the Amazighophone speaker can theoretically choose one of three options: The exploitation of the resources of the mother tongue itself, Arabic-Amazigh lexical exchange along with borrowing from Standard Arabic, and borrowing from foreign languages.

3. The Resources of the Mother Tongue

This process operates either by creating new words- *neologisms*- or by adapting words already existing in the lexical stock of the language to describe new realities by assigning new signifieds to the signifiers available.

Colloquial Arabic rarely resorts to this process. However, since the 1970's, there has been an emergence and strengthening of a neological trend in the Amazigh domain. It comprises several processes including:

(i) The activation of attested roots to derive new words. For example, *grwl* "turn upside down" has given *tagrawla* "revolution", *iri* "want, love" produced *amaray* "lover", and *maql*, *smaql* "see" has helped derive *tismaqlin* "lenses", etc. (see Achab, 1996) ; and

(ii) The updating of old words borrowed from different Amazigh dialects by assigning them new meanings. Examples are *asekkil* "letter of the alphabet", *agemmay* "alphabet", *anegmu* "oppressor", *tilelli* "freedom", or the numerals *kraḍ*, *kkuẓ*, *smmus*, *sḍis*, *sa*, *ttam*, *tẓa*, *mraw,* which mean respectively "three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, and ten", borrowed from the Tashlhit dialect.

3.1 Amazigh Loanwords in Colloquial Arabic

The speakers of Colloquial Arabic and Amazigh mutually borrow the vocabulary of their respective languages. This phenomenon is a linguistic borrowing which is widely used by users. In this particular case, it seems difficult to speak of a dominance relationship between the two languages.

Thus, for example, Colloquial Arabic borrowed from Amazigh the pattern *tafεεalt* to form the names of trades. Examples are *tagzzart* "the butcher's trade, butchering", *tanžžaṛt* "the carpenter's trade, carpentry", *tabqqalt* "grocery trade", *taħddadt* "the blacksmith's trade", *taderrazt* "weaving", etc. The same pattern can also produce abstract nouns, as in the examples *tamslmit* "the dignity of the good Muslim", *takafrit* "the wickedness of unbelievers", *taadamit* "kindness", *taεzrit* "celibacy", *tamara* "hardship", and *tamεelmit* "mastery", etc.

Amazigh has also provided Colloquial Arabic with some of its agriculture vocabulary (see Laoust, 1920; Colin, 1993; Chafik, 1999). Here are some examples: *bħira* < *tibħirt* "vegetable garden", *targa* < *targ*^{w}*a* "irrigation canal", *gaduma* < *talgadumt* "Van Dyke beard", *žeṛṛaf* < *ažeṛṛaf* "dredging hoe", etc. Part of the vocabulary of botany is also from an Amazigh origin; examples are *azir* "rosemary", *takawt* "galls of Tamarix articulata", *timižža* "salvia", *tiγešt* "soapwort", *skum* < *taskkumt* "asparagus", etc. The same applies to the lexicon of wildlife, e.g. *ṭibibt* "swallow", *gerzam* < *agerzam* "feline", *beṛṛan* < *abeṛṛan* "wild cat", *udad* "aoudad", etc. More common words like *sarut* < *tasarut* "key" or *gwal* < *agwal* "tambourine" are also borrowed.

Some aspects of the lexicon of the traditional Makhzen are also borrowed from Amazigh by Colloquial Arabic. Here are some examples: *mezwar* < *amzwar* "trustee of the Chorfas", *agdal* "spacious ground in front of a palace", *afrag* "confines of canvas around the tent of the sultan", *azfel* "whip", *abraz* "presentation of the bride", *aħfir* "gap dug around a camp", *ašbaṛ* "crenellated wall", *axbu* "prison", *aγnan* "quarrel", etc. Colloquial Arabic also borrows idiomatic expressions calqued from Amazigh, as in the examples *hezz-u lma* < *usin-t waman* "he is done for", *xemmem mεa ṛasek* < *swingem d ixf nnek* "think about it", and *dar-ha-lu femmu* < *isker-as-tt imi nnes* "he committed or betrayed himself through his words", etc.

3.2 Borrowing from Foreign Languages

Borrowing from foreign languages, mainly French and Spanish, is a phenomenon directly linked to contact with Europe, especially since

colonization. The integration of loanwords is carried out either through retaining their original form and meaning or by adjusting one/both of them to the structures of the host language. Foreign languages are chiefly a source of technical vocabulary for Moroccan languages.

3.2.1 Borrowing from Spanish

Spanish has provided the Moroccan languages with items related to various fields:

(i) The vocabulary of fishing: *lbaṛco*, *abaṛco* < *barco* "trawler", *lkurrinti*, *lk*^{w}*rrinti* < *corriente* "the sea current", *ddṛaga* < *draga* "dredge", *lfundu* < *fondo* "the seabed", *lfertuna*, *lfertunt* < *fortuna* "storm", *qimrun*, *qaymrun* < *camaron* "shrimp", *kaṛama* < *calamar* "squid", *ṛṛaya* < *raya* "ray", etc.

(ii) The vocabulary of card games: *rronḍa, llaṣ, ḍḍos, ttris, kwatru, ssinku, ssoṭa, kabaḷ, rray*, etc.

(iii) Common vocabulary items: *litru* "liter", *lmitru* "meter", *kumir* "bread", *kuna* "cradle", *bosṭa* "post office", *katri* "bed base", and *peloṭa* "ball".

Language contact, thus, occurs as part of a market where the Moroccan languages are in a position of demand for lexical items susceptible of expressing the new realities at the economic, social and cultural levels. We will now consider, on the one hand, the modes of contact between Colloquial Arabic and French, and on the other hand, the Arabic religious lexicon in Amazigh. This review will enable us to better understand how the phenomenon of symbolic dependence and the ensuing linguistic creativity operate within minoritized languages.

3.2.2 Lexical French Borrowings in Amazigh

French is a major provider of the vocabulary of technology and modern economics: *ṭrabublik* < travaux publics "public construction work", *ḷblan* < le plan "plan", *lbaṭima* < le bâtiment "building", *luzin* < l'usine "factory", *lfirma* < la ferme "farm", *lanṭir* < l'antenne "antenna", *ḷbank* < la banque

“bank”, *ššik* < chèque “check”, *kridi* < crédit “loan”, *laṣurans* < l’assurance “insurance”, etc.

Military vocabulary also comes from French: *lkaẓirna* < la caserne “barracks”, *lgariṭa* < la guérite “sentry box”, *baṭrwi* < patrouille “patrol”, *muskuṭo* < mousqueton “carbine”, *raṣalima* < renseignement “intelligence”, *gerḍaffu* < garde-à-vous “stand to attention”, *kabṛan* < caporal “corporal”, *k^{w}niniṛ* < colonel “colonel”, *šaṛžan* < sergent “sergeant”, etc.

Brunot (1949) devoted a systematic study to *Colloquial Arabic borrowings from the French language in the Moroccan cities since 1912*. He shows that even if Colloquial Arabic contains words borrowed from Persian, Turkish, Greek, Hebrew, Romance and especially Spanish, it was only with the installation of the French protectorate that it became deeply marked by borrowing foreign words, thanks to which new technologies and a new culture were imposed via the French language. In this study, the author lists 182 words, nouns, verbs and adjectives, and gives for each one of them information such as category, gender and number for the nouns, along with old and new meanings and usages. Finally, he studies the phonetic changes which borrowings undergo when integrated into Moroccan Arabic.

It seemed interesting to repeat this study almost fifty years after its publication to see if the users of Amazigh still use the same French loanwords. The hypothesis that one can postulate regarding this issue is that with the independence of the country and especially with the progress of Arabization in education and administration, Moroccans would resort to Standard Arabic rather than French to make up for the lexical deficiencies of Colloquial Arabic.

To test this hypothesis, we administered a test to a sample of the student population including 43 subjects, including 17 males and 26 females. As to their majors, 10 are social science majors, 16 are science majors, and 17 are literature majors. Several reasons dictated choosing a student population, the main ones being the availability of subjects and especially the fact that this is an educated population strongly marked by

the process of Arabization. The subjects are, thus, *a priori* able to substitute in their performance Arabic lexical items for French borrowings. The test administered to students comprises 75 transcribed words, all nouns from Brunot’s list; the students were asked to specify the origin of these terms, to give their equivalents in Standard Arabic and to point out the term they use usually and naturally.

The corpus that was targeted by the survey is the following:

bibliyotek, bank, bakit/bakiya, banžu, baṛba, faṣma, baṭerwi, baẓar, berṭmuni, bidu/bidun, biru, bisklit/bišklit, bisri/pisri, bḷaka/pḷaka, blaṣa, bnu, boḷa, bosṭa, briki, bulis, buḷanži, difanḍi/bifanḍi, fagu/vagu, fermaṣyan, fesyan, firma, frizi, gamila, garṣon, grafaṭa, žaḍarmi, žiždibbi/žiždippi, kabina, kamiyu/kamayu, kaskṛot, kuli/kulya, korṣ, kridi, kofṛa, lagaṛ, lagrima, lamuni, lantrit, laṣurans, laṣorti, leṣans, luks, loṭel, madam, madaya, magaza, mašina, manḍa, moḍa, nimiru, bomaḍa/pomaḍa, raḍyo, risṭora, senḍala, senyatur, ssinima, šanṭi, ššiki, ššifoṛ/ššafoṛ/ššofoṛ, sbiṭar, tenber, trisinti, tilifun, ṭṭobis, ṭṭomobil/ṭṭomobila, ṭṭrabay/ṭṭravay, ṭṭrabublik, ṭṭrebonar, ẓẓalamit, zzufri.

After correcting the test, we obtained the following results:

(i) Unknown words: 9.47%
(ii) Words used in the loanword form: 57.45%
(iii) Words whose French equivalent is used: 30.99%
(iv) Words whose equivalent in Standard Arabic is known: 74.01%
(v) Words whose equivalent in Standard Arabic is used: 5.26%
(vi) Words whose equivalent in Colloquial Arabic is used: 6.25%

These facts indicate that the borrowed words are still widely known and used in their integrated form by the speakers. Their equivalents in Colloquial Arabic and in Amazigh are not very frequently used. Finally, although the informants know the vast majority of Standard Arabic equivalents, they use them only rarely.

The test results suggest that the subjects have a passive knowledge of terminology in Standard Arabic. Indeed, the Arabization of the

administration and education allowed them to become aware of Arabic neologisms, but they master them passively; they do not actually use them in their actual language behavior, nor do they use them naturally.

3.3 Arabic Lexical Borrowing in Amazigh

Amazigh also provides an interesting example of this ability of linguistic borrowing and creativity which is a facet of the vitality of the languages that are underprivileged by the interplay of laws governing the language market.

Here, we will be devoted to examining a particular case of lexical borrowing by Amazigh (the Tashlhit dialect) from Standard Arabic (in its classical form). Concern is with the Muslim religion vocabulary which is very commonly used in the liturgical practice of the people of Souss (south-west Morocco). The proposed analysis is exclusively qualitative. We first propose a classification of the items in the corpus; then we will proceed to the analysis of the phonological and morphological integration processes of the borrowed morphemes by highlighting the processes implemented by Amazigh in order to assimilate the exogenous elements.

3.3.1 Corpus

The corpus which will be the subject of this study consists of a sample of items found in the writings of Awzal, specifically *Al-ħawḍ*. Written in the eighteenth century in Tashlhit and using slightly adapted Arabic letters, this work is devoted to the foundations of Islam according to the Maliki rite. This text is known to the Amazighophone population of Souss, and most men and women learn it by heart. The data examined here is drawn from recordings of *Al-ħawḍ* made with speakers of the Anti-Atlas (Tafraout, Ida Ousemlal, and Ida Oubaâqil).

This corpus contains a large number of words borrowed from Classical Arabic, the majority of which are partially assimilated to the phonological and morphological structures of Amazigh. There are, however, a number of words which do not undergo any change as they enter Amazigh, especially when performed by *fuqaha* or *tolba* who have a good mastery of Classical

Arabic, which in fact rarely happens especially at the level of pronunciation. These borrowings include terms denoting the name of God and His attributes.

The choice of the notional, lexical field of religion is obviously no coincidence. In fact, if there is a field where the density of borrowings from Classical Arabic is important, it is precisely that of religion. Being par excellence the area of the sacred and scrupulous observance of language as a divine word, religion imposes the Arabic linguistic sign as an integral part of the exercise of belief. However, there are lexical creation efforts which tend to establish a terminology of Islam in the Amazigh language. These efforts are continuing, while at the same time radicalizing, a trend that has existed at least since Ibn Toumert. One of whose current representatives of this trend is Jouhadi (1995), not to mention the experience of the Berghouatas, who established themselves as marginal to, if not against, Islamic orthodoxy by adopting an Amazigh religious lexicon proper.

3.3.2 Identifying Borrowings

The non-exhaustive inventory below presents three lists of words transcribed according to the pronunciation of actual speakers recorded in natural conditions. They include (i) words from Arabic whose form does not change as they enter Amazigh; these are recorded from literate speakers; (ii) words of Arabic origin which have undergone phonetic change; and (iii) those which have undergone morphonological changes. The items given in (ii) and (iii) are taken from recordings of female and male illiterate speakers.

(i) ʼaḷḷaaħ, ṛabb, mawlaanaa ʼal-ɛaḏ̣iim, ʼal-baṣiir, ʼal-waħiid, ʼal-baaqii, ʼakbaṛ, ʼal-kariim, ʼal-ṛaħmaan, ʼal-ṛaħiim, ʼal-ɣafuuṛ, ʼal-ɛaaqil, ʼal-ɛaliim, ʼal-baarii, ʼal-mudabbir, ʼal- mukawwin ;

(ii) linžil, lqʷṛan, iblis, lislam, lktab, lfarayḍ, ššruḍ, laɣraḍ, lbuṛhan, lmaxluqat, liraḍa, lžayz, lmurṣalin, ttawħiḍ, luḍu, lžnabt, lħukm, lbhaym, lbħuṛ, uẓum ; and

(iii) *amuslm, akafriy, uẓum, anaẓum, ašrik, ikafriyn, ibalisn, taẓallit, talluħt, tamumnt, takafriyt, timuslmin, tillwaħ, ẓẓall, aẓum, ħužžu, ttzkku, ħħṛm, ttnžam, žžnžm, ttṛkaɛ, ttsžad, ttamn, ttɛṣu.*

3.3.3 Phonological Integration Processes

The terms included in the list in (ii) are illustrative of the phonological processes at work in the lexical items Amazigh borrows from Classical Arabic (henceforth A and CA, respectively). The purpose of these processes is to convert the matrices of phonemes attested in the morphemes of CA to other matrices in accordance with the facts of the phonological system of A (see Boukous, 2009). The most productive integration processes are deletion, substitution, reduction of vowel quantity and monophthongization, or the reduction of diphthongs into monophthongs. Let us consider these processes through the analysis of some examples.

3.3.3.1 Segment Deletion and Substitution

The segments that are attested in the morphemes borrowed from Classical Arabic but absent from the phonological matrix of Amazigh are either deleted in the integrated morphemes or replaced by the segments which are structurally close to them. Examples (a), (b), (c) and (d) illustrate, respectively, the deletion of the glottal stop, the deletion of vowels (which leads in the case of triliteral verbs to the formation of vowelless morphemes), the substitution of stops to the corresponding interdental fricatives (i.e. ṯ→t, ḏ→d, ḏ→ḍ) and the replacement of emphatics that do not exist in the underlying phonological system of Amazigh by other *native* emphatics as follows: ṭ→ḍ, ṣ→ẓ.

The following examples illustrate these processes:

(a) *CA: al-quṛʔaan, al-ʔislaam, al-faraaʔiḍ, alžaaʔiz, al-bahaaʔim, a-lwuḍuuʔ, al-fanaaʔ, al-ɛišaaʔ.*

A: lq^{w}ṛan, lislam, lfarayḍ, lžayz, lbhaym, luḍu, lfana, lɛiša.

(b) *CA: al-šuruuṭ, al-buħuuṛ, sažada, ṛakaɛa, ḏalama, ħaṛṛama.*

A: ššruḍ, lbħuṛ, sžd, ṛkɛ, ḍlm, ħṛṛm.

(c) CA: *al-ṯuluṯ, al-ʔunṯaa , a-lḏ̣uhr,a-lḏ̣ulm, al-ḏikr, al-ḏanb.*

A: ttulut, lunta, ḍḍuhr, ḍḍulm, ddikr, ddnb.

(d) CA: *al-šuruuṭ, al-baaṭil, al-ṣawm, al-ṣalaat.*

A: ššruḍ, lbaḍl, uẓum, taẓallit.

3.3.3.2 Reduction of Vowel Quantity

The reduction of the long vowels of Classical Arabic into short ones as they enter Amazigh is motivated by the fact that quantity (long vs. short vowel) is not a distinctive phonological feature in the vocalic system of Amazigh. The Classical Arabic examples below and their correspondents in Amazigh show how this process works:

CA: *al-ʔinžiil, ibliis, al-buħuuṛ, al-šuruuṭ, al-ʔaɣraaḍ, al-buṛhaan, al-maxluuqaat*

A: *linžil, iblis, lbħuṛ, ššruḍ, laɣraḍ, lbuṛhan, lmaxluqat*

3.3.3.3 Monophthongization

The diphthongs *aw* and *ay* attested in the morphemes of Classical Arabic reduce respectively to *u* and *i* when entering Amazigh. This process is at work in the following examples:

CA: *'al-ṣawm, 'al-mawt, 'al-bawl, 'al-qawl, 'al-ṣayf, 'al-dayn, 'al-šayṭan, 'al-layl.*

A: *uẓum, lmut, lbul, lqul, ṣṣif, ddin, ššiṭan, llil.*

For the sake of illustration, let us give the derivation of three morphemes of Classical Arabic borrowed by Amazigh, *ʔal-quṛʔaan, ʔal-ṣayf, ʔal-baaṭil*:

Source form (CA)	*ʔal-quṛʔaan*	*ʔal-ṣayf*	*ʔal-baaṭil*
Glottal stop deletion	ʔ > 0 ʔ > 0	ʔ > 0	ʔ > 0
Vowel deletion	a > 0	a > 0	a > 0 i > 0

Vowel reduction	aa > a		aa > a
Consonant substitution			ṭ > ḍ
Monophthongization		ay > i	
Integrated form (A)	*lquṛan/ lq*^{w}*ṛan*	*ṣṣif*	*lbaḍl*

The examination of the phonological processes at work in the integration of morphemes borrowed from Classical Arabic shows that they are subject to the facts of the phonological matrix of Amazigh. This sometimes leads to producing morphemes with a form which is quite original compared to that of their source.

3.3.4 Morphological Integration Processes

The morphemes Amazigh borrowed from Classical Arabic also undergo changes which affect their basic morphological structure. We will consider the main morphological integration processes operating in these morphemes. In so doing, we will examine in turn the processes involved in the structure of the noun and those related to that of the verb.

3.3.4.1 Nominal Morphology

Consider the modes in which the nominal forms of Classical Arabic are integrated into Amazigh, according to gender and number.

(a) Integration according to gender

In the examples in (i) and (ii), respectively, the processes of integration of masculine and feminine nouns in the singular form are illustrated:

	CA	A	
(i)	*kaafir*	*akafriy*	"unbeliever, masc."
	muʔmin	*amumn*	"believer, masc."
	muslim	*amuslm*	"Muslim, masc."
	ṣaaʔim	*anaẓum*	"person who fasts, masc."

(ii)	*kaafira*	*takafriyt*	“unbeliever, fem.”
	muʔmina	*tamumnt*	“believer, fem.”
	muslima	*tamuslmt*	“Muslim, fem.”
	ṣaaʔima	*tanaẓumt*	“person who fasts, fem.”

In (i), the masculine singular morphemes of Classical Arabic have a prefixed vowel, usually *a*; at the same time, they lose their second radical vowel. In the case of *akafriy*, *r* and *i* metathesize, and *y* is suffixed. The case of *anaẓum* is even more interesting because it illustrates the formation of the agentive noun in Amazigh on the basis of the root *aẓum*, whose source form in Classical Arabic is supposed to be ṣ*awama* “to fast”. In (ii), the morphemes in the feminine singular forms of Amazigh are derived directly from their masculine counterparts (in A) by the affixation of the discontinuous, feminine morpheme *t + X + t* as happens in the formation of native morphemes.

(b) Integration depending on number

In (i) and (ii) are given examples of morphemes in plural forms, respectively in the masculine and feminine:

	CA	A	
(i)	*kuffaaṛ*	*ikafriyn*	*< /i+kafriy+n/*
	muʔminuun	*imumnn*	*< /i+mumn+n/*
(ii)	*kaafiraat*	*tikafriyin*	*< /t+i+kafriy+in/*
	muʔminaat	*timumnin*	*< /t+i+mumn+in/*
	muslimaat	*timuslmin*	*< /t+i+muslm+in/*

It appears from these examples that the integration of the morphemes of Classical Arabic which are in the plural form follows exactly the rules of plural formation specific to Amazigh. Indeed, the formation of the plural of masculine forms is done on the basis of the radical X to which are affixed the plural melodies *i + X + n* and *ti + X + in*, respectively for masculine and feminine nouns. We know that the plural in Amazigh is formed using other melodies, but it seems that loanwords are preferentially subject to the

aforementioned melodies, which are by all means the most *productive* melodies in the Tashlhit dialect of Amazigh (Jebbour, 1988).

3.3.4.2 Verbal Morphology

Verbs borrowed from Classical Arabic are integrated into Amazigh through adapting to the latter's morphological structures both at the level of templates and that of stems. Recall that the template is the pattern representing the structure of the classes of morphemes, while the stem is the basis on which inflection rests, and it is the result of the addition of the so-called stem morphemes to the root.

(a) Integration and verb templates

The verb *εaṣaa* "disobey", whose basic form in Classical Arabic is *εaṣaya* and the template *faεala* (*CaCaCa*), is realized in Amazigh as *εṣu* in the aorist (bare) form, which seems to mean that it moves from the template *CaCaCa* to the template *CCu* in Amazigh. *ʔaamana* "to believe in God" moves from the template *faεala* (*CaCaCa*) to the template *aCC* in the form *amn*. *ṛakaεa* "to bow", whose template in Classical Arabic is *faεala* (*CaCaCa*), is integrated as a *CCC* template in the form *ṛkε* in Amazigh. Finally, a verb like ṣ*aama* "to fast", whose basic form in Classical Arabic is ṣ*awama*, moves from the template *faεala* (*CaCaCa*) to the template *aCuC*, to be realized in Amazigh as *aẓum*.

By examining the passage of the forms of Classical Arabic to those of Amazigh, we notice that some verbs of the former language, which apparently have the same template, are integrated into Amazigh on the basis of different templates. Thus, ṛ*akaεa* and ṣ*awama*, which have the pattern *CaCaCa*, are realized with distinct templates, *CCC* and *aCuC*, respectively. This means that the passage is not governed by rules; thus, the forms derived and integrated into Amazigh would not be predictable. However, it seems that consideration of the structure of these verbs can illuminate the processes of their integration into Amazigh. Indeed, the verbs whose template includes true consonants (not glides) shift from the template *CaCaCa* to *CCC* after the deletion of vowels, as in the case of *ṛakaεa* and *sažada*, which are realized as *ṛkε* and *sžd*, respectively. Verbs

which have a glide in their root behave differently depending on the position of the glide (G) in their radical. Thus, assimilated verbs (GCC), hollow verbs (CGC) and defective verbs (CCG) are integrated, respectively, on the basis of the templates *VCC*, *CVC* and *CCV*, where *V* is the syllabic (vocalic) realization of the glide, as is the case in *uẓd*, *ẓur* and *bdu*.

Verbs borrowed from Classical Arabic are also subject to the derivational rules of Amazigh. From the basic shapes which are integrated, we can thus obtain derived forms such as the causative and passive forms. The following examples bear testimony:

CA		A	Causative form	Passive form	
ṛafaɛa	>	*ṛfɛ*	*ssṛfɛ*	*ttuṛfaɛ*	“raise”
ħaṛṛama	>	*ħṛṛm*	*ssħṛm*	*ttuħṛṛam*	“make unlawful”
falaħa	>	*flħ*	*ssflħ*	*ttuflaħ*	“be successful, elected”
kariha	>	*kṛh*	*sskṛh*	*ttukṛah*	“hate”

The elucidation of the integration processes of the verbal forms of Classical Arabic into Amazigh poses serious problems. Indeed, some forms attested in Amazigh have formatives whose derivation can be difficult to justify. This is the case of *aẓum*, for example, which is supposed to be derived from *ṣaama* by applying the following changes: ṣ→ ẓ, *a (/aw/)* → *u*, which would yield the non-attested word **ẓuma*. However, we cannot reasonably posit the rise of the final *a* because, on the one hand, this process is not regular in Amazigh (nor in other natural languages most probably); and, on the other hand, *a* is a personal mark in *ṣaama*, which would yield the form **ẓum*. We can also postulate the following derivation: *ṣaam* → *ẓum* → *aẓum* arguing that the forms of Classical Arabic with a *CaC(a)* template are integrated on the basis of the *aCuC* template, as in the examples *afuḍ* and *aɣul*; yet one wonders why *ṣaama* is integrated on the basis of the template *aCuC* in Amazigh instead of the template *CuC*, as is the case with the verbs *daara*, *maata*, *haama*, *ɛaama*, etc. In addition, it is not easy to decide whether the borrowed verb forms are obtained from the abstract forms ṣ*awama*, s*ayara*, and *daɛawa* or from the stems of the perfective, namely *ṣaama*, *saara*, and *daɛaa*. Recourse to the abstract form allows us to predict the nature of the vowel which will appear in the

host template, namely *w*→ *u* and *y*→ *i*, as in *ṣawama*→ *ṣum*→*aẓum* and *sayara*→*sir*. The hypothesis which seems most likely is that Amazigh borrows the verbal forms of Classical Arabic from the imperative stem whose template happens to correspond to that of the aorist form (or base form) in Amazigh. This postulation allows us to account for the integration of verbal forms in a simple and natural manner, as in *ṣum*→*aẓum*, *ʔudɛu*→*dɛu*, *ṣalli*→ *ẓẓall*, etc.

The resolution of the enigma *ṣaama* → *aẓum* can be envisaged by considering that *aẓum* is a native form of Amazigh rather than a borrowed one. This term is part of a list of words common to Amazigh and Arabic, and its presence in Amazigh predates the Islamization of the Amazigh people. This word is attested in many forms in Tuareg, one of the most conservative Amazigh dialects, for example in *uẓam* "any compulsory religious fasting", *aẓum* "act of fasting, fasting", *aẓuẓm* "fact of making (sb.) fast" (see de Foucauld, 1952).

(b) Integration and verb stems

Borrowed verbs also adopt the form of stems specific to Amazigh, demonstrating again the ability of the language to host morphemes of a foreign origin. Consider the paradigms of the perfective and imperfective forms of the verbs *ɛṣu amn*, *ṛkɛ* and *aẓum*, and focus just on singular persons. They are described respectively in (i) and (ii) below:

	ɛṣu	*amn*	*ṛkɛ*	*aẓum*
(i)	*ɛṣiɣ*	*umnɣ*	*ṛkɛɣ*	*aẓumɣ*
	tɛṣit	*tumnt*	*tṛkɛt*	*taẓumt*
	iɛṣa	*yumn*	*iṛkɛ*	*yaẓum*
	tɛṣa	*tumn*	*tṛkɛ*	*taẓum*
(ii)	*ɛṣuɣ*	*amnɣ*	*ṛkɛɣ*	*aẓumɣ*
	tɛṣut	*tamnt*	*tṛkɛt*	*taẓumt*
	iɛṣu	*yamn*	*iṛkɛ*	*yaẓum*
	tɛṣu	*tamn*	*tṛkɛ*	*taẓum*

These paradigms show that verbs derived from Classical Arabic are integrated into Amazigh after being subjected to changes affecting both stem vowels and compatibility with personal morphemes. Thus, *ɛṣu* exhibits the alternation *i/a* in the perfective and the constancy of *u* in the imperfective, like native verbs with the *CCu* template, as in *fru* "to settle a debt" and *dru* "to share". In the paradigm of *amn*, the stem vowel is constant, namely *u* in the perfective and *a* in the imperfective like in native verbs whose template is *VCC*, as in *azn* "to weigh", *amẓ* "to hold", and *alm* "to hem". As for the verbs whose template is *CCC*, like *ṛkɛ*, these have the same stem in the imperfective and perfective, as in *krz* "to plow", *mgr* "to harvest" and *zdɣ* "to live". The same goes for verbs whose pattern is *VCVC* such as *aẓum* "to fast", *afuḍ* "to return" and *aɣul* "to come back".

4. Dependence and Linguistic Resilience

The Moroccan ecolinguistic system is dominated by strong languages, with their privileged institutional status, their prestigious sociolinguistic functions, and their structural strengths in terms of a standardized pronunciation and morphology along with a rich terminology. It is, thus, clear that we are in a situation characterized by unequal exchange between the languages and in which Amazigh is marked by precariousness, dependence and attrition therefrom.

It appears, however, through the above analysis that Amazigh has displayed creativeness by incorporating the nominal and verbal morphemes borrowed from the languages with which it is in contact, while at the same time subjecting them to the rules of native morpheme formation. Thus, the borrowed nouns are cast in the pattern of native nominal forms, both at the level of gender and number; similarly, the words borrowed are adapted to the templates and stems of the morphology of Amazigh. Consequently, it appears that despite the lexical lacunae in their language, the users implement the processes of lexical formation and integration of loans to enable it to meet their communication needs.

The effects of sociological determinism which go in the direction of the progressive weakening of Amazigh in its competition in the language

market are so compelling that one wonders if indeed Amazigh is in a position to withstand the process of attrition. In support of this questioning, we can evoke not only the threats of a ruthless environment but also the internal weaknesses of Amazigh. These include, particularly, the wide variation in its sound structure, lexical gaps, the limitations of its functions and uses; the most compelling weakness is perhaps the disaffection of entire sections of the population of native-speakers of Amazigh established in urban areas, and who, consciously or unconsciously, disrupt the chain of the intergenerational transmission of the language. Thus, it seems that the major challenge facing the survival of Amazigh is the independent awareness of its community (see Landry et al., 2005).

This dual polarity, characterized by dependence and creativity, reflects the objective situation of Amazigh, that of a language struggling for survival. Could Amazigh be one of a very small set of languages that have a few chances to escape attrition in the context of internal domination and globalization (see Fishman, 2001)? Without drifting into complacency, we can say that the new political and social environment provides opportunities for Amazigh to enroll in a revitalization process which could decelerate the movement of the serious trend threatening this language.

Amazigh is certainly experiencing a situation of attrition and precariousness. This is apparent through the description of its overall situation in the language market, the assessment of its weight and value, and the analysis of the social factors which lead to its weakening, like institutional marginalization, the urbanization of the population, competition with stronger languages, the lack of intergenerational transmission of the language, the absence of awareness, attitudes and belittling representations, etc. The combination of these factors has led to the reduction of the Amazigh speaking mass, the shaking of the efficiency of its sociolinguistic functions and the decline of its morphosyntactic, lexical, stylistic and rhetorical structures. Can this situation be reversed? Studies on other languages in a similar situation tend to cast doubt on this (see Dorian, 1982; Fishman, 2001; Crystal, 2004).

Nonetheless, the environment seems to offer new opportunities in terms of status and corpus planning as well as institutional integration; in a context of relative autonomous awareness, Amazigh seems to initiate a process of revitalization which may engage it in a new dynamics that is likely to reverse attrition, and in the medium or short term, save the language from death.

Chapter 10

The Codification of Alphabet and Revitalization

1. From Orality to Writing

Amazigh is essentially a language with an oral tradition. The range of oral uses includes situations of verbal interactions within the family, amongst peers, in social and professional life and in cultural production in the form of storytelling, poetry, singing, sayings, the riddle and so on. The intergenerational transmission of the experiences of Amazigh communities has taken place largely through oral tradition, which thus became the most important historical source. With the evolution of modern society, the central question is the following: How is efficient communication between individuals and groups to be ensured, and how is the experience of the collective memory to be transmitted to future generations? This is not the slightest challenge facing the Amazigh community, nor is it the least stake in the revitalization process which the Amazigh language and culture have launched.

1.1 Varieties of Writing Traditions

The writing system of Amazigh is not recent. Indeed, the Amazighophone communities have since High Antiquity used a specific writing, Libyc or Tifinagh, one of the first phonogrammatic writings of humanity. Similarly, these communities have borrowed the writing systems of the communities with which they have been in contact, depending on historical circumstances. Indeed, there is a written Amazigh heritage composed of corpora of ancient inscriptions in Libyan-Berber (see Marcy, 1936; Chabot, 1940; Galand, 1966), a set of inscriptions in Tifinagh (see

Aghali-Zakara and Drouin, 1997), pieces of Amazigh Islamic literature written in Arabic characters (see Galand-Pernet, 1972), and a set of texts, glossaries and grammars in Latin characters (see Boukous, 1989). In addition to this written tradition, which is after all limited, there have been a few writings in neo-Tifinagh since the 1960s that fall within the context of the revitalization of Amazigh.

It is, however, with the adoption of the Tifinagh alphabet and its codification by the IRCAM in Morocco since 2003, and its use in teaching-learning Amazigh and in the neo- literature, that this language has started to become a written language. We are now entering an important stage in the process of the revitalization of Amazigh because writing allows the language to have both oral and written uses, which broadens the range of communication situations in which speakers are in a position to use it. This benefit undeniably reinforces the value of Amazigh in the language market by making it modestly join the club of written languages.

1.2 Variation in Tifinagh Notations

The first stage of the approach adopted in the preparation of the standard Tifinagh writing system has, thus, been to conduct as exhaustive a review as possible of the variants of the Tifinagh alphabet as they have been or are still in use in the Amazigh domain (see Aghali-Zakara and Drouin, 1997). The problem to address is to sort out all the attested notations because the Tifinagh spelling went through several variants the most important of which being: *proto-Tifinagh* or Libyc, the current Tuareg Tifinagh (Prasse, 1972) and neo-Tifinagh (Agraw Amazigh).

(i) *Proto-Tifinagh* includes Eastern, Western, and Saharan variants; these have the following common properties:

- a- They are based on consonants and semi-consonants, with the vowels being present only in word final position ;
- b- The shape of the letters shows more similarities than differences.

(ii) The current Tuareg Tifinagh also includes some variants, the profound unity of the writing system of which is evident :

a- The letters are exclusively consonantal or semi-consonantal, so vowels are absent;

b- Most letters have an identical shape.

(iii) Neo-Tifinagh includes some variants whose unity is even more pronounced than that of other systems:

a- They mark consonants, semi-consonants and vowels.

b- They borrowed their signs mostly from proto-Tifinagh and from the Tuareg alphabet.

c- The shape of some signs has been altered.

d- Some signs have been added, namely those representing affricates, emphatics, gemination and labio-velarization.

To sum up, Libyc, which is the oldest form of this writing, is essentially consonantal; the Tuareg Tifinagh has marked an evolution with respect to Libyc by noting the vowels *a, i,* and *u* and the semi-consonants *y* and *w*; and, finally, neo-Tifinagh is characterized by a concern for searching for the unity of shapes coupled with a technical concern.

2. The Normalization of the Tifinagh Alphabet

Given the variety of notations, and in order to satisfy the social needs of the users of Amazigh, the adoption of an efficient, standard spelling becomes a necessity in a context that is relatively favorable for the promotion of Amazigh. This adoption must of course be done according to a rational and coherent procedure.

2.1 Background

The adoption of the Tifinagh alphabet and its use as the official spelling in education have, objectively, constituted a challenge to the extent that this alphabet had virtually been ignored not only by the population but also by the scientific community. Under the missions assigned to the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture by the legislator, particularly in Article 3 of the Dahir related to the creation and organization of this institution, the task of standardizing the spelling of Amazigh has been successfully carried out by the researchers in linguistics and the computer engineers belonging to the institution. This operation represents a major contribution in the context of

the planning of the Amazigh language with a view to including it in the educational system and media, as well as in national, regional and local cultural life, and public life in general.

2.2 The Approach

The approach adopted in the standardization of the spelling of Amazigh includes the following steps:

(i) The establishment of a database comprising the different variants of Tifinagh on the basis of a broad survey of the literature in order to identify the magnitude of variation in the notations used ;
(ii) The capitalization of the results of the analysis of the sound system of the main dialects of Morocco in order to decide on a common phonological system comprising a finite number of distinctive units ; and
(iii) The development of a unified Tifinagh graphic system on the basis of the notations currently in use according to the following principles:

- a- Historicity: The oldest graphemes are preferred to the most recent ones ;
- b- Univocity: To each grapheme corresponds one sound ;
- c- Simplicity: The graphemes whose configuration is simple are preferred to those whose form comprises more than one element;
- d- Coherence: The graphemes which render different sounds are eliminated ; and
- e- Economy: The preferred graphemes are those satisfying the gain/cost ratio in terms of technical designing and pedagogical efficiency.

(iv) The piloting of the product thus evaluated internally was conducted among a sample made up of researchers at the IRCAM, namely educationalists, literary people, as well as among experts in the field of Amazigh outside the IRCAM, nationals and internationals, associative actors, creators, and so on ; and
(v) The establishment of the normalized spelling in education through textbooks, multimedia, extracurricular tools and children's literature books, and also in the production of neo-literature.

2.3 Regulating Variation

The approach adopted in the preparation of the standard Tifinagh alphabet satisfies the needs required by the planning of this alphabet in order to adapt it to the phonological system of standard Moroccan Amazigh. That is the reason why it was necessary to make amendments which have changed the form of some signs borrowed from the notation of neo-Tifinagh.

In the standard, Unicode, Tifinagh-IRCAM system, most of the letters of neo-Tifinagh were retained; vowels and semi-vowels remain unchanged; and for some consonants, a change or the addition of a diacritic sign was necessary. Thus:

(i) Labio-velarized consonants were added to the consonantal system to meet the needs of the phonology of standard Moroccan Amazigh. To note them, a diacritic ^{w} is adjoined to the primary consonant. Thus, we have: k^{w} and g^{w} for k^{w} and g^{w}, respectively. Examples are $amddak^{w}k^{w}l$ *amddakʷkʷl* “friend” and $tadg^{w}g^{w}at$ *tadgʷgʷat* “evening.”;

(ii) The emphatic consonants corresponding to *ṭ*, *ḍ*, and *ṣ* are rendered by the neo-Tifinagh signs ⵟ, ⴹ, and ⵚ while *ẓ* and *ṛ* are noted ⵥ and ⵕ, respectively, instead of the neo-Tifinagh signs to ensure simplicity. Examples are ⴰⵟⵟⴰⵏ *aṭṭan* “illness”, ⴰⴹⴰⵕ *aḍar* “foot”, ⵚⴽⵓ *ṣku* “build”, ⴰⵥⵓⵕ *aẓur* “root”, and ⴰⵕⴰ *aṛa* “give!”;

(iii) The sounds corresponding to *f, l, ε, h* have been modified as follows:

a- Adding a ligature: *f* is rendered by the symbol f instead of][, and the lateral *l*, traditionally written as n is noted l in order to avoid confusing it with a geminate n (nn). Examples are ⵉⵍⵍⵓⵍⴰ *illula* “it clotted” and ⴰⴼⵓⵙ *afus* “hand.”

b- The pharyngeal *ε*, which does not exist in traditional Tifinagh nor in current Tuareg but which exists in the sound system of standard Moroccan Amazigh is represented by ⵄ. This symbol is a creation that replaces the variants of neo-Tifinagh which have the

disadvantage of being either complex in their shape or being the source of confusion with other symbols, as in ⴰⵄⴷⴷⵉⵙ *aɛddis* "belly", for example.

c- The laryngeal *h* is traditionally written either as ⵀ or ⴱ according to the notation; in standard Tifinagh, it is noted h in order to avoid confusion with the bilabial *b*, which is noted ⴱ. Examples are ⵓⵀⵓ *uhu* "no" and ⵉⴱⵉⵡ *ibiw* "bean";

(iv) Gemination, which affects all the consonants and semi-consonants of Amazigh, is noted by the repetition of the grapheme (CC). Examples are ⴰⵍⵍⵓⵏ *allun* "tambourine", ⴰⴳⴳⵓⵏ *aggun* "stone", and ⴰⵢⵢⵓⵔ *ayyur* "moon, month"; and

(v) Regarding the direction of writing-reading, it should be noted that several directions are attested historically, left-right, right-left, top-down and bottom-up; the direction adopted in writing standard Tifinagh is the left-right direction.

2.4 Standard Tifinagh

From the foregoing, we recall that the Amazigh writing is a time-honored writing which has evolved in space and time, and that it is experiencing a renewal of interest in the current historical context marked by the quest for identity of the human communities facing the process of assimilation to the dominant languages and cultures. In the process of the revitalization of Tifinagh, the crucial issue is the standardization of writing by the management of the variation exhibited by the signs attested in the different practices in order to adopt a common standard spelling. This spelling has 33 graphemes, 27 of which are consonants, 2 semi-consonants and 4 vowels (see Table below).

The grapheme inventory of the selected alphabet comprises 33 units:

(i) 4 vowels: ⴰ, ⵉ, ⵓ, ⴻ (epenthetic schwa, which is inserted between a sequence of identical or homorganic consonants.) ;

Examples: ⵜⴻⵜⵜⵓ *tettu* “she forgot”; ⵍⴰ ⵜⵜⴻⴷⴷⵓ *la teddu* “she goes (habitual form).”;

(ii) 2 semi-consonants: ⵢ , ⵡ ;
(iii) 20 simple consonants: ⴱ,ⴼ,ⵀ,ⵜ,ⴷ,ⵙ,ⵣ,ⵏ,ⵍ,ⵔ,ⵄ,ⵎ,ⴽ,ⴳ,ⵊ,ⵛ,ⵅ,ⵖ,ⵃ,ⵇ ; and
(iv) 5 emphatics: ⴹ,ⵟ,ⵚ,ⵥ,ⵕ; and
(v) 2 labiovelars: ⴽⵯ,ⴳⵯ.

In establishing the standard alphabet, two categories of graphemes are thus considered: graphemes that are retained without modification and graphemes that have undergone planning. The evaluation of the latter category in terms of technical and educational costs has helped identify the advantages and limitations of this spelling.

The following table lists the Tifinagh-Ircam graphemes with their corresponding Arabic and Latin letters:

The Tifinaghe UNICODE script

Tifinagh Unicode	Latin correspondance	Examples
ⴰ	a	ⴰⴷⵔⴰⵔ
ⴱ	b	ⴰⴱⵔⵉⴷ
ⴳ	g	ⴰⴳⵎⴰⵔ
ⴳⵯ	g^w	ⴰⵣⴳⴳⵯⴰⵖ
ⴷ	d	ⴰⴼⵓⴷ
ⴹ	ḍ	ⴰⴹⴰⵕ
ⴻ	e	ⵜⴻⵜⵜⵔ
ⴼ	f	ⴰⴼⵓⵙ
ⴽ	k	ⴰⴽⵕⴽⵓⵕ
ⴽⵯ	k^w	ⴰⵎⴷⴷⴰⴽⴽⵯⵍ
ⵀ	h	ⴰⵀⴷⴷⵓⵏ
ⵃ	ḥ	ⴰⵃⵉⴷⵓⵙ
ⵄ	ε	ⴰⵄⴱⴰⵏ
ⵅ	x	ⵜⵉⵅⵙⵉ
ⵇ	q	ⴰⵇⵔⴰⴱ
ⵉ	i	ⵉⵎⵉ
ⵊ	j	ⴰⵊⴷⵉⵔ
ⵍ	l	ⴰⵎⵍⴰⵍ
ⵎ	m	ⴰⵎⴰⵏ
ⵏ	n	ⵉⵔⴷⵏ
ⵓ	u	ⵓⴷⵎ
ⵔ	r	ⵓⵔⴰⵔ
ⵕ	ṛ	ⴱⵕⵕⴰ
ⵖ	γ	ⴰⵖⵔⵓⵎ
ⵙ	s	ⵉⵍⵙ
ⵚ	ṣ	ⵚⵚⴰⴱⵜ
ⵛ	c	ⴰⵛⵡⵡⴰⵍ
ⵜ	t	ⵜⵓⵙⵙⵏⴰ
ⵟ	ṭ	ⵟⵟⴼ
ⵡ	w	ⴰⵡⴰⵍ
ⵢ	y	ⴰⵢⵢⵉⵙ
ⵣ	z	ⴰⵎⴰⵣⵉⵖ
ⵥ	ẓ	ⵉⵥⵉ

3. International Approval

The Tifinagh Alphabet, developed by the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture (IRCAM), is recognized internationally by relevant institutions under the name *Unicode Tifinagh-IRCAM*. In fact, on Friday, 25 June, 2004, the Tifinagh spelling was officially recognized as part of the Basic Multilingual Plane by the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) represented in Morocco by the Department of Moroccan Industrial Standardization (Service de Normalisation Industrielle Marocaine (SNIMA)) of the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Telecommunications. The information presented here is taken from the ISO/IEC JTC1/SC2/WG2 N2739 document. The international approval of Tifinagh has a considerable importance as a prerequisite for taking advantage of new information and communication technologies (see Zenkouar and Aït Ougengay, 2008).

3.1 Letters and Glyphs

With the approval of Tifinagh, Amazigh enters, albeit modestly, the era of internationalization of processing and exchanging information and electronic publishing while, like the spelling systems from around the world, abiding by the necessity to establish standards for coding. This is precisely the object of the *Unicode* norm, a computer standard developed by the *Unicode Consortium* whose aim it is to give a unique digital identifier, in a unified way, to any character in any language writing system regardless of the computer platform or software. Specialists (see Haralambous, 2004; Andries, 2008) point out that in order that the letter codes can be read, they must be associated with fonts which produce visual images, or glyphs, corresponding to the codes. Thus, the letter is an abstract unit of textual information, while the glyph is the graphical form used for the presentation of the letter.

The coding problem has intensified since the advent of the Internet and the globalization of information sharing in the form of text documents. The ideal is to ensure that a document containing information can be treated on a system using a set of *Western* letters, for example, as easily as it can on another system which uses a different set such as the *Eastern* system.

For this, several codes have been implemented but are not universal, as is the case with ASCII or ISO-2022 codes, and so on.

Today, *Unicode* has become the standard for text coding in most languages and communication protocols. It is recognized by most computer professionals to be a universal method for coding the letters of any language on any platform that recognizes it.

The principle of the Unicode project is to develop a code which is:

(i) Universal in order to code all letters ;

(ii) Efficient and easy to analyze and process ;

(iii) Uniform and coded on a fixed number of bits; and

(iv) Non-ambiguous, in which any value corresponds to a single, unique letter.

3.2 The Coding of the Tifinagh Writing System

The coding of Tifinagh-IRCAM through the *Unicode* system is a unique opportunity which presents itself to Amazigh and which will have important consequences for its influence. The proposal to add the Tifinagh writing system to the Basic Multilingual Plane was accepted unanimously as of Amendment 1 by delegations from the various countries participating in the workings that took place from 21 to 25 June in Toronto (Canada). Acceptance by ISO (ISO 10646:2003) in the current amendment and not in Amendment 2 saves Amazigh one year in the codification of the Tifinagh letters. All the countries present during the workings have highlighted the excellent technical quality of the proposal initiated by the IRCAM. This is an exceptional fact which should be highlighted.

With the codification of the Tifinagh writing, Amazigh may thus benefit from the standardization of electronic products and the allocation of a computer code (directory, name and number) to the Tifinagh letters, thereby ensuring the exchange of electronic documents without information loss. The Tifinagh writing can be integrated into software developed by large companies specialized in the production of software. This will facilitate its use especially at the level of the Internet and word

processing. However, this is not the only impact of this coding; at the symbolic level, it also means the international recognition of Tifinagh as a scriptural heritage of the world.

4. Implementing Standard Tifinagh

The convincing achievement of IRCAM in terms of elaborating the project of codifying the Tifinagh writing system has thus been recognized by appropriate international bodies. This success will allow Amazigh to make a qualitative leap through the implementation of the policy of promotion and valorization it is enjoying.

4.1 Fonts

With the coding of standard Tifinagh achieved through collaboration between computer science researchers at the IRCAM and Canadian and French researchers and designers, the implementation of Unicode Tifinagh continued with the making of “fonts”. In fact, in the words of Andries (ibid.), the world of letters, which is that of Unicode, and that of their visual presentations, the glyphs, are two distinct worlds. At the technical level, a Tifinagh keyboard has been developed along with some thirty fonts including: Unicode Tifinagh IRCAM, Tifinagh Ircam, Tifinagh Ircam 2, Latin Tifinagh Ircam, Tifinagh Izurn IRCAM, Tifinagh IRCAM Aggoug; Tifinagh Ircam3D, Tifinagh Ircam Prime, Tifinagh Ircam Taromit, Unicode Standard Tassafout, Tifinagh Yugurtha. In addition to these fonts, there are the following cursive fonts: Tifinagh Tazdayt Noufouss, Unicode Tamalout Noufouss, Unicode Tamzwart Noufouss, Unicode Tassafout Noufouss, Unicode Teddus Noufouss and Standard Unicode Tifinagh Tazdayt. The cursive font is still insufficiently studied; there is as yet no analysis of *ductus* in the Tifinagh domain that specifies the order of the successive movements of the hand to perform different sequences of drawing each letter, including the ascending and descending.

These achievements in the realization of glyphs do not make believe, however, that Amazigh has totally taken the most prestigious route into digital technology: Its presence on the Net remains a wish and the software

remains the prerogative of the major languages. It must be admitted that the weight of Amazigh is more than negligible in the new ICT market.

4.2 Tifinagh and Education

The use of standard Tifinagh in the teaching/learning of Amazigh, strengthened by an adequate training of the teachers, offers the following advantages:

(i) The saturation of the phonological system of standard Amazigh is such that a specific Tifinagh grapheme corresponds to every phoneme. Conversely, the adoption of the Arabic alphabet requires the addition of diacritics to certain graphemes to render the specificities of the Amazigh sounds, such as the emphatic sounds ẓ and ṛ and schwa, for which the Arabic alphabet has no corresponding letters. In addition, there is the thorny problem of vowels, which are not transcribed in Arabic and whose use would considerably encumber the text in Amazigh. The adoption of the Latin alphabet would pose the same number of problems ;

(ii) The motivation engendered by the initiation to a writing system with a symbolic value can act as a facilitator in the teaching-learning of Tifinagh. Indeed, in the social representation of the Amazighophone community, Tifinagh is considered as a part of the national cultural heritage, thereby acquiring historical legitimacy ;

(iii) The correspondence one language/one spelling is a structuring element which creates a form of security in the minds of learners. Thus, the learner identifies the Arabic language with its alphabet, foreign languages with the Latin alphabet and the Amazigh language with Tifinagh. Contrary to what some might think, classroom observation and pedagogical reports by teachers and trainers indicate that learning at a certain age three distinct alphabets, Arabic, Latin and Tifinagh, does not seem to create difficulties or disruptions among the learners; and

(iv) The absence of spelling and phonetic transfers that could result from the use of a spelling other than Tifinagh. For example, the use of the Arabic letters آ, ي and و to note *a, i* and *u*, respectively, can

lead the learner to pronounce the vowels as long ones, like in a word such as أحيزون **aħiizuun* instead of *aħizun* “lame” without vowel lengthening. Such a practice could lead to fossilized errors penalizing the learner.

4.3 Establishing Tifinagh

The presence of Tifinagh in the social field is reinforced by the recent experience of teaching Amazigh and using it in teaching materials and educational multimedia and in collections of literary writing, and to a small extent in inscriptions on some signs and information signs.

4.3.1 Tifinagh at School

The choice of a standard writing and spelling was a prerequisite for the integration of Amazigh in school. Indeed, as of its opening in 2002, IRCAM considered the resolution of the issue of the writing and spelling system a central task to facilitate the teaching of Amazigh. As a result, Tifinagh was adopted in February 2003 after a series of studies on different graphic notations of Amazigh, taking into consideration their strengths and weaknesses. In September 2003, the first schools hosted Amazigh and the Tifinagh script for the first time in the history of the Moroccan educational system.

This certainly is an unprecedented event, but it is also a real challenge. The first textbook for oral activities was designed; others followed- the student’s textbook and the teacher’s guide; and training sessions were organized for teachers, inspectors and the trainers of training centers. What remains is to evaluate this experience on the basis of an evenhanded diagnosis in order to temper both euphoric effusions and apprehensions and skepticism.

4.3.2 Tifinagh in Culture

Tifinagh inscriptions exist in the rock carvings of some archaeological sites in Morocco. Symbols recalling the letters of Tifinagh are the mark of the Amazigh art; they are inscribed on carpets, jewelry, the doors of collective attics and the painted ceilings of rich country homes, on pottery

and on the buildings of southeast Morocco Kasbahs. It is a heritage which unquestionably testifies to the historicity of Tifinagh and which runs counter to those who believe that Tifinagh is an invention or a recent creation.

In addition to this ancient tradition, another more recent tradition is being established in the neo-literature milieu, among poets, short story writers, novelists, playwrights, and screenwriters. Tifinagh is slowly becoming the preferred tool ensuring the passage of the Amazigh literary production from orality to writing.

4.3.3 Tifinagh within Society

To be quite honest, the Moroccan society is just discovering the Tifinagh writing. The rural communities who live in the places where the symbolic Tifinagh is illustrated do not have a creative and lively knowledge of this writing. Reasoning in terms of unconscious collective memory, one can say that its re-appropriation may be experienced especially on the mode of nostalgia. It is interesting to observe that after the period of the consensus on the Royal approval of Tifinagh, voices arise to criticize the choice of this writing system, some of which argue in the name of modernity that it is outdated, while others argue in the name of religion that it is illegitimate. This means that Tifinagh is a matter of social and political debate. Therefore, to be credible and sustainable, the emerging practice of Tifinagh needs to be consolidated by institutional support and backed by a socio-cultural movement that identifies with it.

Ultimately, the review of the candidates to serve as the writing system of Amazigh, namely Tifinagh, Arabic and Latin, shows that, to varying degrees, all three need planning measures. These measures generate a cost that is at the same time social, cultural, technical and educational. Therefore, a recommendation is in order: The option for a spelling, whichever it is, can be neither exclusive nor absolute. Indeed, in language planning, the implementation phase of the standard product requires an evolutionary approach characterized by a flexibility imposed by the requirements of monitoring, testing and regulation, particularly in the area of the teaching-learning of the language.

The approach adopted by the designers of standard Tifinagh took advantage of the scientific knowledge available in modern linguistics applied to Amazigh in terms of coding the letters and elaborating the corresponding glyphs. However, given the nature of the challenges implied by the choice of a spelling system, extra-scientific considerations invested by competing legitimacies clearly come into play; yet, it seems that what is ultimately decisive in the passage of Amazigh from orality to scripturality *via* Tifinagh is an effective social and institutional support for the process of revitalization.

Chapter 11

Language Planning and Revitalization

1. Policy and Planning

Although endowed with such important sociolinguistic attributes as vitality, autonomy and historicity (see Boukous, 1997), Amazigh has hitherto suffered from the effects of minoritization because of its non-standardization. Standardization is an operation the launching of which is conditioned by the positive and effective political will of the state. Lacking throughout the history of Morocco, this will now exists and has been affirmed by the Moroccan Sovereign on many occasions, namely in the 2001 Throne Speech and the Ajdir Speech on the occasion of the creation of the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture (IRCAM) on 17th October of the same year. However, there is not yet a legal framework which consolidates this will and which implements it through policies in the institutional and societal reality via public policies.

The standardization of Amazigh falls within the purview of the process of language planning. This process aims at changing the situation of Amazigh and its relationship to other languages present in the language market. Thus, it covers two areas of intervention, the status of the language and its corpus. While intervention on the status presupposes the existence of a political will, action on the corpus requires a rational method in which there is an interaction between theoretical thinking, methodology, knowledge of the field and evaluation.

2. Status Planning

The planning of Amazigh is achieved mainly within the institutional framework, but it is not taking place in a strategy which explains the ins and outs of the matter, namely the status and functions of the standard and the challenges inherent in the standardization process.

2.1 Institutional Framework and Status Change

Overlooked in the institutional options since Morocco's independence to 2001, Amazigh has now gained respectability. At the constitutional level, the reference framework for the new linguistic and cultural policy regarding the Amazigh language and culture is indisputably represented by the adoption of Amazigh as an official language since 1st July 2011. In addition, speeches of King Mohammed VI, namely the Throne Speech on 20th July 2001, in which the King sealed the recognition of Amazighness as one of the foundations of Moroccan identity, and the Ajdir Speech on 17th October 2001 of the same year, when the Sovereign forcefully stated:

> *Insofar as Amazigh is a principal element of national culture and a cultural heritage whose presence is manifested in all expressions of Moroccan history and civilization, We attach a particular solicitude to its promotion within the framework of the implementation of Our project for a democratic and modernist society based on the consolidation of the valorization of the Moroccan personality and its linguistic, cultural and civilizational symbols.*

At the institutional level, the Dahir establishing the creation and organization of the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture (IRCAM) constitutes the legal text which grants legitimacy to the Amazigh component of the new linguistic and cultural policy of the state by creating the institution "entrusted with safeguarding, promoting and strengthening the position of our Amazigh culture in the space of national education, society, and media as well as in the management of local and regional affairs." Finally, at the operational level, the missions assigned to IRCAM cover a wide range of tasks, namely collecting, transcribing and studying the various manifestations of Amazigh culture; codifying the spelling; designing the necessary tools for teaching/learning Amazigh and initial and continuing

training; and contributing to the consolidation of Amazigh in the media. Within the same framework, the National Charter of Education and Training as well as Law 01 00 open the field of learning to the Amazigh language and culture, albeit in a timorous fashion.

Intervention at the level of the status concerns the political and legal aspects of the status of the language; it falls within the domain of the state and, thus, results from the management of the social demand for recognizing and promoting the language. Thus, political will permitting, Amazigh can see the range of its uses and functions expanded so that it becomes, for instance, the language of education, training, media, written culture, local administration, and so on. This intervention plays a decisive role in the official establishment of Amazigh and its diffusion through powerful channels such as television, radio and school. Absent this will, all actions targeting the standardization of pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary, spelling, etc., regardless of how accurate, relevant and refined they are, will be just as useful as a cautery on a wooden leg because they will remain confined to circles of specialists and militants and, as such, not have an effective impact in the social sphere (see Boukous, 1999).

We, therefore, easily understand that the change of status which would raise the status of Amazigh from that of a vernacular variety to that of a national or official language pertains to the domain of governance and to the outcome of power relations in the political field. Let us wager that this issue will comply with the spirit of democracy and the philosophy of the social contract.

In its philosophy and its methods, the adoption of the Tifinagh alphabet as the support of the official spelling of Amazigh in Morocco provides an indication of the positive political will with regards to Amazigh. The normalization of this writing system represents a task which comes prior to any other form of standardization of the language, to the extent that methodological choices will affect the writing and spelling of Amazigh and will undoubtedly have repercussions on the language itself. Therefore, the choice of the alphabet IRCAM has opted for is based on an approach with a phonological tendency, which offers the advantage of uniting Amazigh at the level of writing while at the same time allowing particular phonetic

realizations in the pronunciation of consonants, stress, intonation, rhythm, etc. Furthermore, this applies to all writing systems of the world. Thus, the same text written in Amazigh will be read by the different speakers according to their native pronunciation in exactly the same way a text written in Arabic script is read differently in the Maghreb countries, Egypt and the Gulf countries. What is important is that a text which can be read in different ways is understood in the same way. The transition to writing is clearly a *sine qua non* condition for the standardization of Amazigh, and the experiences of language planning across the world have indeed largely demonstrated the homogenizing power of writing.

2.2 Challenges of Standardization

Certainly, the achievement of this ideal is likely to encounter numerous obstacles, the main ones being related in the first place to the sociolinguistic reality of Amazigh.

2.2.1 Language Ideal

In the minds of speakers, Amazigh is represented as a language ideal more than as an ideal language. A language without a sociolinguistic reality and without historical letters of reference, Amazigh functions as a vernacular which is handicapped by orality and confined mainly to a rural domain undergoing advanced economic, social and cultural disintegration.

2.2.2 Dialectalization

Amazigh appears everywhere in the form of dialects and varieties in use among isolated communities in nation states which most often do not recognize its legitimacy. Between remote communities, the degree of mutual intelligibility between the speakers is so low that some Berberists allowed themselves to talk about a plurality of Berber languages.

2.2.3 Vernacularity

At the macro-sociolinguistic level, Amazigh has the functions of a vernacular, functions devoid of social usefulness and social prestige. This positions Amazigh unfavorably in the language market and often leads its

own speakers to deny it a core value in their language behavior in their representations and epilinguistic discourse.

2.2.4 The Laws of the Language Market

At the level of the language market, Amazigh is highly subject to competition with languages which are more powerful than it is and with which it maintains relations of unequal exchange. This situation contributes to the massive invasion of lexical and phraseological borrowings, especially from Arabic and French; this further weakens Amazigh and makes of it a language at the edge of obsolescence.

We thus measure the essential challenge of the standardization of Amazigh: Ensuring the conditions for the revalorization of a language whose quite advanced process of dialectalization has shaken the foundations of the very identity of this language.

2.3 Standardization Alternatives

Faced with the sociolinguistic reality of Amazigh, the standardization measures clash with problems of both choice and method. The first problem we confront when embarking on the standardization enterprise of Amazigh is to identify the object to standardize and codify. Theoretically, three options of standardization come to mind: Pan-Amazigh, the geolect and the lect.

2.3.1 Pan-Amazigh

The first option would be to standardize *pan-Amazigh*, in order to make of it *common Amazigh*, or what we might refer to, without doubt inappropriately, as the *Amazigh coined*. What legitimizes this option is the existence of structures common to the whole Amazigh domain; the underlying unity of Amazigh is a fact which linguistic studies have shown on the basis of arguments sufficient enough to admit that this unity is not at all fictitious (see Basset, 1952). By maintaining this option, it is advisable to make clear a few points, the most important of which is related to the very identity of common Amazigh: Its linguistic identity (grammatical basis), its sociolinguistic identity (status, functions, and uses) and its spatial identity

(national and transnational space). Once this identity is circumscribed, it is necessary to render it socially acceptable. In this connection, with the assumption that we can overcome the difficulties inherent in the construction of its linguistic identity (phonology, morphology, lexicon, syntax, etc.), it seems that the standardization which would aim ultimately at creating the linguistic foundations of the *Amazigh coined* might lead to generating a “stateless monster language” without anchoring in the sociolinguistic and cultural reality. The product thus manufactured may probably have a symbolic value in terms of the ideology of *Tamazgha*, but it runs the risk of having a suspicious sociolinguistic consistency. This fatal risk for Amazigh is well noted by Chaker (2000: 5):

> *The elaboration of a common, standard Berber cannot be regarded as an immediate goal. Establishing in the Berber domain a new diglossic situation that is akin to classical Arabic/Colloquial Arabic should be avoided, as it will be quite counter-productive in relation to the objective of promoting the Berber language and its generalization in particular.*

In the domain of education, the risk is also immense to see students turn away from an unfamiliar language presenting more or less the same characteristics of strangeness inherent in the non-mother tongues which have been taught at school so far. Now, the major argument for the inclusion of Amazigh in education is that it is the natural linguistic medium which will enable the learner to integrate the school universe and make it easy for him to acquire the various types of competencies, namely the strategic, cultural and communicative ones. Experience has shown, conversely, that the use of a second language can only continue to hinder the learning process (see Saïb, 1995).

2.3.2 Regional Amazigh

The second option would aim at standardizing regional dialects by reducing the facts of divergence between the structures of local dialects. More realistic than the previous one, this option consists in considering dialectal facts in a given area where there is linguistic mutual intelligibility and a cultural community. The process may involve several stages: (i) The establishment of a linguistic database, (ii) the systematic inventory of the

facts of convergence (iii) the systematic inventory of the facts of divergence, (iv) the identification of the facts of free variation and inherent variation, (v) the construction of a basic grammar comprising the facts of convergence at the phonological, morphological, lexical and syntactic levels, (vi) the empirical validation of the product through teaching-learning, media, literary writing, social uses and epilinguistics (attitudes and representations of users). This option would contribute to homogenizing Amazigh from a sound linguistic and cultural reality, while it opens on pan-Amazigh through neological creation, new terminology and the technolects to be injected gradually in the lexical fund of Amazigh.

This approach is the most appropriate as it allows, on the one hand, to achieve the unity of Amazigh and, on the other hand, to remain rooted in the community's linguistic and sociolinguistic reality, while it provides the learner with a tool of knowledge appropriation and a familiar, and from now operational, medium of communication.

The second option would, thus, aim at standardizing regional dialects, reducing the facts of divergence between the structures of local dialects in order to bring them progressively closer to finally reach a common standard form, "classical" Amazigh (see Chafik, 1980). More realistic than the preceding one, this option consists in considering dialectal facts in a given area which is both a space for linguistic mutual intelligibility and a community cultural framework which offer the best conditions for the successful establishment of common Amazigh.

2.3.3 The Lect as a Standard

There is another option, which would consist in codifying the local dialects by describing their structures, making explicit the specific rules of grammar and fixing the norms by means of teaching-learning textbooks, grammars, dictionaries and reading texts. The advantage of this option is that it respects the facts of the local linguistic and cultural reality, but it has the major drawback of strengthening the state of extreme dialectalization of Amazigh and, thus, contributes to strengthening the process to heterogenization which has been at work in the Amazigh domain for millennia.

The approach that envisages standardization starting from the basis considers the planning of the Amazigh language as a process consisting of steps, each of which has objectives and appropriate means to achieve them. It offers the advantage of being open to pan-Amazigh in an evolving fashion, namely by allowing a regulation of standardization through controlling the degree of the creation and injection of neologisms into the core of the language, especially new terminology and modern technolects.

However, the need to “stick to reality” should not lead to crystallizing the differences within Amazigh by describing in great detail the structures of local dialects, explaining their rules, determining their specific norms and their diffusion through teaching-learning textbooks, grammars, dictionaries and reading materials. Doing so would have the major drawback of reinforcing the state of dialectalization of Amazigh and, hence, contribute to strengthening the processes heterogenization that has been at work for centuries in the field of Amazigh.

3. Corpus Planning

Planning the corpus of the language aims at ensuring a match between communication needs and the language resources suiting those needs. More often than not, language planning measures take the form of standardizing language structures. Standardizing a language is tantamount to unifying the structures of that language and reducing inherent structural differences and divergences by eliminating non-functional occurrences which are often a source of ambiguity and difficulty of understanding in the communication process.

No matter what option is retained, planning the corpus of Amazigh requires the adoption of as rigorous a general methodology as possible. The global approach could include several steps: (i) Creating linguistic databases, (ii) systematically inventorying the facts of convergence, (iii) systematically inventorying the facts of the divergence, (iv) identifying the facts of free-variation and those of inherent variation, (v) writing a basic grammar including the facts of convergence at the phonological, morphological, lexical and syntactic levels, (vi) empirically implementing and validating the products achieved through teaching-learning, media,

literary writing, and social uses and (vii) regulating the products on the basis of epilinguistic acceptance of these products by the users on the basis of their attitudes, motivations and representations.

3.1 Standardization, Stability and Variation

In the Amazigh domain, standardization will make it possible to make explicit the norms of pronunciation, word formation and their semantic interpretation by selecting among the available linguistic forms those that are functionally competing and equivalent in order to reduce the diversity of dialectal facts. The aim will be to ensure both the regularity of linguistic structures by reducing the abundance of phonetic and lexical forms; hence the homogeneity of the Amazighophone community may be achieved by sharing sociolinguistic and epilinguistic norms which are both common and homogenizing through their diffusion under a rational establishment strategy by means of institutional devices, namely the media and school, and through literary and scientific production.

If one hypothesizes that the standardization of Amazigh aims at describing and setting the norms of a language that is relatively stable and adaptable, the target will be in short a language whose structures will have been the subject of identification and taxonomy procedures and one satisfying the communication needs of the Amazighophone community, needs that vary in time and space depending on variables specific to communication situations. In other words, the product of standardization will be a language whose stability precludes neither flexibility nor evolutivity.

3.2 On Method and Flexibility

Given the growing social demand and the strong political will, Amazigh is in a situation that is unprecedented in its history. The challenges for the Amazigh language and culture are important and the stakes their new status implies are considerable. The planning of Amazigh is in line with this context. It is an urgent task, but urgency should not lead to improvisation and haste; it is actually a process which should stretch over time, without nonetheless being blocked in any way, and its engagement much less

postponed indefinitely. The completion of this task should by all means adopt a systematic, rational, progressive and flexible approach integrating a procedure combining research, implementation, testing and regulation.

3.2.1 Neology and Terminology

Faced with the sociolinguistic reality, the standardization measures necessarily face problems of both choice and method.

It seems that at this crucial stage in the history of Amazigh, it is necessary to exert an effort of critical thinking centering around the evaluation of standardization operations, namely in terms of terminological neology, which are conducted sporadically, sometimes undertaken without methodological discernment, and always characterized by improvisation.

One of the surest ways of standardizing Amazigh is probably lexical neology. Indeed, by creating new Amazigh words to refer to new concepts or objects, while at the same time ensuring their wide diffusion through the relays of school, media, songs and literary writing, one contributes to the creation of a lexical stock which is common to Amazighophone speakers and which is likely to widen the array of the sociolinguistic uses of Amazigh. Thus, it appears that neology has at least two complementary virtues: filling the gaps in the language and unifying it.

However, having recourse to terminological neology should take place only in cases of real need. In fact, identifying the needs and prioritizing them should be a prerequisite to any linguistic coining operation. Thus, once the needs identified and prioritized, one inventories the lexical gaps on the basis of the speakers' communication and expression needs, depending on the importance of the notional field at hand. This procedure incorporates in a functional way the social needs, frequency of use of the proposed lexical item in communication and its socio-cultural semantic load in the community. In other words, the introduction of new terms into the language should be carried out in a piecemeal, gradual fashion, so as not to cause a feeling of rejection with respect to a "manufactured" language which would be considered socially unacceptable.

Concerning lexical neology, the approach may adopt a program with four key moments:

(i) The building of a lexical database relating to the technolects existing in the major languages of communication;
(ii) The establishment of a technical database relating to experiences as well as to approaches to lexical and terminological neology throughout the world;
(iii) Basic research in the field of lexical neology after having identified and prioritized the needs; and
(iv) The piloting of the lists of terms with a sample of speakers who are representative of the Amazighophone community.

As to the method used in coining terminology per se, it should reasonably be based on the following principles:

(i) The principle of univocity: The proposed neologism or technolect should not have opposite or different semantic content. In other words, there should be one lexeme for each concept;

(ii) The principle of internal coherence: As far as possible, the same approach should be adopted to lexical neology in each notional field. For example, the same process of prefixation, suffixation, derivation or compounding, and so on, should be used for the same field;

(iii) The principle of external coherence: The neologisms and technolects created must not come into conflict (at the formal and/or semantic level) with the lexical items which already exist in the lexical inventory of the language;
(iv) The principle of economy: The neologisms and technolects created should not duplicate lexical items that already exist in the lexical stock of the language;
(v) The principle of naturalness: The neologisms and technolects created must conform to the metrical structures and the word derivation processes of Amazigh. In other words, 'lexical monsters' should be avoided; and

(vi) The principle of exhaustivity: In neological creation, one should proceed in a systematic manner so as to fill all the gaps in each notional field as far as possible.

This procedure and the principles that go hand in hand with it should not in the least give the illusion that lexical creation operations are easy and automatic. One should be aware that one is in front of a long and laborious research and implementation work.

Initiatives relating to the compiling of dictionaries, glossaries and terminologies available in the market have most often led to introducing confusion in a field which is rather marked by amateurism. It cannot be otherwise if the results of these initiatives are not supported by institutional relays which validate their quality and ensure their dissemination. For example, the sporadically proposed neologisms concerning the terminology of the media did not succeed in resisting against the terminology adopted by the radio and television professionals (see the news bulletins). There is of course an unfair competition between the terms produced by amateurs and the technolects of professionals, the latter benefiting from a wide dissemination thanks to audio and audio-visual media.

One can reasonably assume that the most reliable and least problematic means of standardizing Amazigh is lexical neology. Indeed, by creating novel words in Amazigh to describe new concepts or objects, by injecting them into different dialects and by ensuring their wide dissemination through the relay of the media, songs and literary creation, one contributes to establishing a lexical stock common to Amazighophone speakers. In this way, lexical neology helps unify the language.

4. Goals of Language Planning

The planning of any language abides by a functionality which meets the needs and expectations manifest in the social field. The purpose of the language planning of Amazigh is to enable the users of the Amazigh language and culture to communicate and produce efficiently within their community.

4.1 Implementation Measures

Measures of implementation are necessary to meet the needs identified in the areas of teaching, education and media. Among the urgent measures, there is the codification of writing and spelling; the standardization of language structures at the phonetic, morphological, and lexical levels without sacrificing the dialectal reality; and the elaboration of the language at the level of terminology. Action on the status of the language will probably also lead to a change in the functions of Amazigh, which will, as a result, change from the status of an oral language used for the purposes of everyday life- especially in rural areas- to the status of a language which is taught (a language of instruction?), recognized, and promoted, and a language which must reflect the convergences and divergences between the dialects and which gradually develops due to a concomitant effort of standardization and of learning the divergences.

4.2 Terminological Practices

The measures of the planning of Amazigh are all the more urgent that practices which are inaccurate, to say the least, invest the domain of Amazigh. The initiatives relating to compiling dictionaries, glossaries and terminologies available in the market most often lead to introducing confusion in a field typically marked by amateurism (see Taifi, 1997). How can it be otherwise given that the results of these initiatives are not supported by institutional relays which control their quality and ensure their diffusion? For example, the neologisms proposed here and there with respect to the terminology of the media did not succeed in standing up to the terminology adopted by radio and television professionals (see the news bulletins). Of course, there is an unfair competition between the terms created by amateurs and the technolects improvised by professionals, the latter benefiting from wide diffusion thanks to the audio and audio-visual media where they officiate. Ideally, there should be a close collaboration between the IRCAM, which is the official institution empowered to carry out the standardization of Amazigh, and the professionals in the fields of education, culture and the media so that the terminology developed can be implemented successfully in the appropriate sectors.

4.3 Standardization and Education

The issue of the teaching-learning of Amazigh was on the agenda in Morocco since 1994, but it did not become a reality until 2003 when the Ministry of Education, in collaboration with Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture (IRCAM), launched the first experience in the country. Today, Amazigh is taught at the primary school as a compulsory subject for all pupils, and at the University level as a specialty within amazigh studies curricula. However, the lack of specialized trainers and educators constitutes, in the short term, a serious handicap to launching education programs in Amazigh.

The designing of textbooks for the teaching-learning of Amazigh, namely reading and writing textbooks, reference materials, such as grammar books, and language dictionaries, represented an urgent task which is now achieved. These pedagogical tools have been able to support the designing, production and validation. At the extra-institutional level, experiences of teaching-learning Amazigh are also underway. With the existing textbooks, teachers adopt approaches, initiate methods and design pedagogical materials with varying degrees of success. The integration of Amazigh in the educational system has required *de facto* the designing of grammar textbooks, language dictionaries and reading textbooks. This, of course, requires the coining of appropriate terminology.

The textbooks available for teaching-learning Amazigh adopt a situational approach based on dialogues and are generally meant for children, native and non-native learners. With the availability of reference books, their exploitation for educational purposes turned out to be useful; nevertheless, it is necessary to evaluate them in terms of their objectives, their content and their methodology. There is no doubt that the approach adopted in the designing of new textbooks will be different if the teaching of Amazigh were to become a proper language of education. These examples clearly demonstrate that the change affecting the status of Amazigh will have a direct bearing on the very approach to anything that relates to this language.

Intervening on the status of the language, through its constitutionalization since July 2011, has entailed a change in the functions of Amazigh, changing its status from that of an oral vernacular language used for the purposes of everyday life- especially in rural areas- to the status of a language that is taught (a language of instruction?), recognized, and promoted.

4.4 Standardization and the Media

Given the multiple functions which the media have, it is obvious that they contribute to increasing the value and weight of the languages they use. As has been described above, Amazigh is present in the audio media, especially in the public pole radio station and more timidly in private radio stations. Its presence in audiovisual media is rather weak for the time being, and it is even less significant in the written press. Many factors explain such a situation.

With the process of Amazigh revitalization under the policy of promoting Amazighness, it becomes urgent to endow the language with the terminology which is specific to the media. Indeed, the needs are important if one wants to avoid massively importing borrowings from Arabic, French and English. The task is incumbent upon the language planners of the IRCAM, who have already developed a first glossary devoted to the media, which will probably be useful for professionals, journalists, speakers, animators, designers, directors, and so on.

5. Language Planning and Equality of Opportunities

Languages are subject to an intense symbolic competition in the Moroccan language market. Because of the force of the laws governing this market, the position of minoritization occupied by the weak languages, namely Colloquial Arabic and Amazigh, objectively reduces them to the terms of an unequal exchange with the strong languages, namely Standard Arabic and French.

The standardization of Amazigh, which has recently been the subject of an institutional activity, is an urgent task, but its urgency should not lead to

improvisation and haste. It is a task the importance of which we must measure for the future history of Amazigh. Therefore, an approach which is both systematic and diligent should be conducted as part of strategic planning.

Some general principles would make it possible to carry out this task:

(i) Respecting the principle of reality which requires that the standard be in line with the linguistic and sociolinguistic reality of the user.

(ii) Focusing on the facts of convergence with respect to divergences to strengthen the homogenizing function of language.

(iii) Treating the competing functional forms as lectal variants that have a stylistic, rhetorical or pragmatic value, and giving the advantage to the most frequent forms, i.e. those whose functional performance in communication is highest and those which have the best symbolic value in the semiotic and cultural system of the community.

(iv) Treating the competing, non-functional forms as free variants, and adopting a functional methodology in the field of lexical neology.

Amazigh manages to develop strategies of resistance which ensure its survival. These strategies are summarized mainly in the management of inter-geolectal variation, the standardization of phonological and morphological structures, and the ability of the language to borrow the words which the speakers need to meet the requirements of communication by adapting them to its structures through the mechanisms of morphophonemic integration processes. The main method of enriching and unifying the language resides, however, in creating terminology to cover specialized vocabulary, particularly with respect to education and media.

Ultimately, the rational standardization of Amazigh through the institutional planning of its status and its corpus is a lever which is susceptible of contributing to the creation, to a certain extent, of the conditions of equality of opportunities between the languages competing in the context of the revitalization of Amazighness.

Chapter 12

Politics and Language Policy

Regulating the process of transition from the attrition to the revitalization of minoritized languages cannot be efficient without a political management based on constitutional recognition. This recognition should be consolidated, under the central and local governance, by institutional relays, namely in education, information, and justice; and be effectively implemented at the operational level, through appropriate mechanisms and measures. Such are the challenges and issues of promoting Amazighness in the Maghreb.

1. Linguistic Diversity and Glottopolitics

Linguistic and cultural diversity is a universal phenomenon, an observation that has by now become obvious. Indeed, all human communities, even those who have a long history of linguistic and cultural centralism, experience a plurality of social dialects (*sociolects*), regional dialects (*geolects*) or even *chronolects* or dialects specific to generations, if not a plurality of languages. The same goes for cultures because observed differences in cultural expressions (literature, songs, art, architecture, and so on) are the reflection of data related to the political, social, economic and physical environment specific to social classes, age classes, regions and localities.

1.1 The Communitarianism Phobia

The issue of cultural and linguistic diversity and the issue of individual and collective identity, which is its corollary, are approached by strategy makers in two divergent ways. For some, it is an opportunity for human communities to build relationships based on the alliance of civilizations at least in the context of a friendly regulation of differences and conflicts between communities, if not in the context of universal concord. For others, however, this phenomenon is the main line of division, confrontation and clash between civilizational spheres in the context of the end of the Cold War era (see Huntington, 1997).

In general, we can say that the issue of cultural and linguistic diversity is both ill-conceived and negatively perceived since it is identified with communitarianism, whose specter is stirred in order to neutralize claiming cultural and linguistic rights supposedly endangering the unity of nation-states. This approach relies on three types of arguments:

(i) Cultural or ethnic identity claims lead to political identity, which would be no more than an illusion or an ideological construct that threatens democracy; the question of identity is thus a non-issue, an illusion which should be covered with the modest veil of ignorance or a dangerous trend which the state has to bring to a halt (see Bayart, 1997).

(ii) In contrast, according to the second approach, the ethno-linguistic, cultural and religious differences are in essence untreatable and conflicting, and are in a direct link with sovereigntism. Their management can only be done in the independence of the communities as opposed to the colonial state and the central postcolonial state (see Daley, 2006);

(iii) The quest for ethnocentric identity is a source of exacerbation of differences and specificities, and may thus lead to violence and denial of fundamental freedoms of the members of other communities. It is all the more dangerous because it is based on “an illusion of destiny” (see Sen, 2006).

For the sake of illustration, we refer to the many cases of violent conflict and genocide humanity has known throughout its past and recent history, for example during the Second World War, the interethnic conflict in former Yugoslavia, in Africa, in Asia, religious extremism of all kinds, etc. A number of intellectuals and political scientists tend to consider that the quest for identity can be based on a lethal ethnicist illusion. This illusion causes implosions in communities which struggle with the (internal and external) contradictions of postcoloniality marked by the challenges inherent in building the nation-state, or yet in the context of globalization marked by the dominance of the major languages and civilizations, which impose themselves on every citizen of the world (see. Maalouf, 1998; Tournon and Maiz, 2005).

1.2 The Glottopolitics Approach

In the Maghreb, the question of cultural identity is usually related to the debate on linguistic and cultural diversity within the polarities represented by Arabization, Francophony and Amazighness (Berberness). The acuity characterizing the debate is explained to some extent, by the changes which the world, with both its central and peripheral formations, is undergoing. These changes put it in a historical turning point which requires it to make political and socio-cultural choices which are decisive regarding its future, choices that necessarily have implications on cultural identity (see Laroui, 2009; Chikh et al., 1988). Roughly, the issue of identity is viewed from two perspectives: One is couched in an essentialist conception of a closed and conflicting identity, and the other in a conception of identity as being plural, additive, and under construction.

Anchored in this general problem, our intent is to examine the issue of the Amazigh language and culture, on the one hand, to show the paradox between the fullness of the Amazigh fact, its pervasiveness in the sociolinguistic and cultural reality and the emptiness of the law or the legal void as to its political management. On the other hand, we intend to consider scenarios for planning the Amazigh fact. We thus focus our attention on three issues: (i) The foundations and issues which legitimize Amazighness, (ii) alternative approaches expressing, at the level of discourse, the conflict of identity polarities, and (iii) the legal framework of

linguistic and cultural policies in which the Amazigh fact could be taken care of. The approach adopted here is that of *glottopolitics*, which envisages the facts of language where the action of society takes the form of a political fact (see Guessing and Marcellesi, 1986). Language is considered as a social product whose status and value are determined by language policy choices and whose structure and functions are regulated by the measures of language planning.

2. The Foundations of the Linguistic Diversity Issue

The Amazigh issue is not a fortuitous issue, much less a "false problem" for the Maghreb countries. It is a real fact which has many dimensions including political, economic, social, cultural and linguistic ones. We shall consider here only the linguistic dimension by focusing on its historical, anthropological and legal foundations.

2.1 Historical Foundations

The question of the origin of the Amazigh people in the northern region of Africa is the subject of a controversy inspired more by ideological stances than scientific analysis. The latest researches based on genetic analysis classify the Amazighs within the West Eurasian type and reveal a certain kinship between the Amazigh and the Iberians. However, that does give permission to conclude that the origin of the Amazighs is European, since the inter-mixing between the peoples of both shores of the Mediterranean are documented throughout history. This has led Arnaiz-Villena et al. (2002) to say that: "From a genetic point of view, we can say that Africa starts at the Pyrenees." What is established is that the indigenousness of the Amazighs is uncontested for both proto-historians (see Camps, 1985) and historians (see Terrasse, 1949; Julien, 1994). Ibn Khaldun (1378), the historian, says about the inhabitants of this country: "*The Berbers have always been a powerful, formidable, brave and numerous people; a true people like so many others around the world, such as the Arabs, Persians, Greeks and Romans*." (ibid., 1999). Indeed, the dynasties of *Aguellids* before, during and after the Roman occupation, and the Amazigh-Muslim dynasties of the Almoravids (XI-XIIth c.), the Almohads (XII-XIIIth c.), the Merinids (XII-XVth c.) and the Wattasids (XV-XVIth c.) show

that Morocco was ruled by Amazigh dynasties which have left their mark on its history and landscape, as is evinced by the many symbolic and material remains left by these dynasties. Moreover, even if these dynasties did not establish the Amazigh language as institutional and contributed, with the assistance of the Amazigh elite, to spread the Arabic language and Islamic religion, the sustained action they have conducted made it possible to integrate the Amazigh dimension into the Arab-Muslim culture of Morocco. The historical making of the Moroccan identity is the result of the Arab-Amazigh mixing during the reign of the Amazigh and Arab dynasties. It should be mentioned that, in contrast to this historical truth, some historians reduce the history of the Maghreb region to the establishment of the Idrisid dynasty (808-809 A.D.). In this vein, some ideologues equate the Amazigh pre-Islamic period with the *jahiliya*, just like they do the current Amazigh claims (Yassin, 1997), while others trace the origin of the Amazigh people back to the southern Arabian region (see Laroui, 1982). In front of the negationist interpretations which ignore or belittle the historicity of the Amazigh fact, other historians restore to the Amazighness of the Maghreb its historical right by recalling the resistance of the Amazigh people throughout the history of this region during different periods: From Antiquity against Romanization (see Bénabou, 1976), to the Middle Ages against the Muslim penetration (see Sadki, 2002), to the contemporary period against the European colonial occupation (see Chafik, 1989).

The historical depth of the Amazigh language and culture gives Amazighness the legitimacy which is the bedrock of national identity, a permanence that still structures the linguistic and cultural personality of the Moroccan people. The state's recognition of this fact constitutes a major step in the process of institutionalizing the Amazigh language and culture. The 2001 speeches of King Mohammed VI are explicit in this regard, especially that of Ajdir in which the Sovereign states that Amazighness, which is deeply rooted in the history of the Moroccan people, belongs to all Moroccans. Ultimately, the Amazigh people's indigenousness is an established historical fact.

2.2 Anthropological Foundations

Amazighness has a number of anthropological properties which characterize the Amazigh culture in its symbolic aspects (beliefs, representations, world view), its intangible aspects (literature, songs, group dancing), as well as its physical aspects (architecture, jewelry, rugs, wood, pottery, and so on). These properties are expressed through patterns and contents some of which are universal and some more specific. This is to say that Amazighness participates in the anthropological heritage of mankind.

At the national level, contemporary Morocco has a polyphonic cultural profile. Indeed, the Moroccan culture tends to form a national culture that consists of components each having a defining site, shape and substance. It includes the classic diptych: Urban culture and rural culture, to simplify the Arabic culture and the Amazigh culture.

The Amazigh culture structures the collective subconscious of the Moroccan and founds the *basic cultural personality* of the country. It is present in an apparent or latent way in everyone of us in both their language and their emotional and social behavior; it is ubiquitous in the Moroccan space through toponymy and in our imagination through oral tradition. Thus, it forms a component of *the culture of the people* by expressing, at the symbolic level, the living conditions of rural masses and their representation of the world. The apparent or latent presence of this culture in our consciousness and our behavior is a characteristic of the Moroccan specificity, the mark which distinguishes Amazighness from others and transcends the similarities, identicalness and convergence.

However, Amazigh culture is experiencing a probably unprecedented situation in its history, which makes it confront considerable challenges and issues. These challenges and issues are related to a context characterized by the profound changes the Moroccan society is undergoing. This context is also marked by the total dependence of rural society and the consequent decline of its cultural heritage and aesthetics, due to the deteriorating ecological conditions which have made it possible to produce the landmark objects of the Amazigh culture in the fields of architecture, carpets, jewelry, oral tradition and various rituals reflecting

the vitality of this culture. However, the emergence of a modern identity consciousness expressed through the attachment to language and culture signals a deep will to fight obsolescence and assimilation and reveals a social expectation in favor of the revitalization of Amazighness.

2.3 Legal Foundations

The issue of cultural and linguistic diversity is couched in a global context marked by a feeling of anxiety about the future of the cultures and languages of the world. The factors explaining this climate are essentially: the tendency to reduce the cultural and linguistic diversity on a global scale, the stigmatization of cultural and linguistic diversity by the dominant ideologies and policies, and the upheavals that globalization caused in the community and intercommunity equilibrium.

In this context, the cultural and linguistic claim is based on international law relating to the recognition and implementation of cultural and linguistic rights within the general framework of the following legal instruments:

- The United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted in 1948 under Article 27;
- The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination adopted by UN in 1965, including cultural and linguistic discrimination;
- The Convention against Discrimination in Education (UNESCO, 1960);
- The Declaration of the Principles of International Cultural Cooperation (UNESCO, 1966), including the field of education;
- The 1978 UNESCO Declaration stating that all individuals and all groups have the right to be different, to think of themselves and be as such;
- The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (OAU);
- The Declaration of the UN General Assembly establishing the 1988-1997 decade as the World Decade for Cultural Development;
- The European Convention on Human Rights adopted by the Council of Europe, including rights to language and culture;
- The Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (UNESCO, 2001);

- The Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, UNESCO, 2005.

Despite this normative arsenal, cultural rights are still viewed by many states as minor rights or, worse, an excuse used by the elites who politicize identity by mobilizing "ethnicity" in the fight for power and state control, hence the reluctance to ratify them. It must be said that the definitional confusion surrounding the conceptual tools of the theory of cultural rights does not help identify the scope and widen the circle of followers. However, one should recall four major documents that mark the field of cultural and linguistic rights: UNESCO's Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (UNESCO, 2001), the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (UNESCO, 2005), the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights (Barcelona, 1996) and the Fribourg Declaration on Cultural Rights (Fribourg, 2007). At the legal level, it is necessary to clarify that the UNESCO Convention is itself an international normative instrument since it was developed as part of a United Nations organization and was signed and ratified by states, whereas the declarations of Barcelona and Fribourg, initiated by NGOs and personalities from civil society and / or the field of science are not binding on states.

The UNESCO Convention and Fribourg Declaration have the merit of stating the objectives and general principles of cultural diversity, but they grant language and language rights only a marginal position. Admittedly, the UNESCO Convention is dedicated exclusively to linguistic diversity, but this does not mean that UNESCO does not have an interest in language, since this organization has recognized the mortal danger that lurks many world languages and took decisions in their favor after the proclamation of 2008 as the International Year of Languages by the UN General Assembly. As to the Fribourg Declaration, it is focused on cultural rights and envisages language rights only incidentally, considering them an implicit part of cultural rights. Indeed, for the proponents of the Declaration (Article 5b), language is part of culture, just like "values, beliefs, convictions, knowledge and the arts, traditions, institutions and lifestyles", and language rights are reduced to "the freedom to express oneself in public or in private in the languages of one's choice." This clarification relating to the primary

purpose of the UNESCO Convention and the Declaration of Fribourg does not establish a hermetic seal between cultural rights and language rights; the two types of human rights constitute the symbolic rights of Man; they are indivisible and irrefutable, but for pragmatic needs of efficiency, it seems necessary to distinguish them.

The Barcelona Declaration, by contrast, is exclusively dedicated to linguistic rights; this is the reason why we are interested in this paper in the first place. Even if it is not probative as far as international law is concerned, it is an important reference that sheds light on the Amazigh language issue. The overall objective of the Declaration is to help "correct linguistic imbalances to ensure compliance and full deployment of all languages and establishing the principles of a global, fair and equitable linguistic peace, as a fundamental element of social coexistence." Specifically, it assumes a set of inalienable personal rights which may be exercised in all circumstances, such as:

- The right to be recognized as a member of a linguistic community;
- The right to speak one's own language in private and in public;
- The right to use one's own name;
- The right to establish relations and associate with other members of the linguistic community of origin;
- The right to maintain and develop one's own culture;

and all other rights relating to language targeted by the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 16 December 1966 and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of the same date (Section 3.1).

To these personal rights, the Declaration adds another set of rights relating to linguistic groups, including:

- All language communities have equal rights.
- the right to teach their language and culture;
- the right to have access to cultural services;
- the right to an equitable presence of their language and culture in the media;

- the right for each member of the groups considered to be spoken to in his own language in his relations with the government and in socio-economic relations;
- the right of any linguistic community to organize and manage its own resources to ensure the use of its language in all spheres of social life;
- the right for any linguistic community to have the means necessary to ensure the transmission and continuity of its language; and
- The right for every linguistic community to codify, standardize, preserve, develop and promote its linguistic system, without induced or forced interference.

The invocation of the various foundations of the Amazigh identity presented so far bestow on it a legitimacy that is rooted in the past, cultural reality and in international law. The argument based on the historicity of the Amazigh fact is a reminder of a historical truth which counters the discourse which considers the Amazigh issue as an illicit innovation inherited from colonialism. The Amazigh claims also have an anthropological legitimacy that brings denial of the argument that the Amazigh cultural identity is mobilized by the henchmen of communitarians. Finally, the approach of the Amazigh language issue in terms of human rights has an international legal reference which provides ample justification to be credible in the fields of education, culture, media and public administration.

3. Alternative Approaches

Amazighness is not only a historical fact but also a deal related to the socio-political reality of present day Morocco, a deal expressed through the claims of an emerging social movement which the state must take into account within an equitable management of the expectations and contradictions expressed in society. The discourse of Amazighness, like other discourses which structure the symbolic field in Morocco, faces the following major questions: How is the Amazigh identity to be integrated into a society based on modernity? How is the Amazigh language and culture to be articulated on the other components of national identity? How are the Amazigh language and culture to be promoted so as to make

of them competitive products on the symbolic goods market in order to ensure conditions for their perenniality?

The answer to the above questions is obviously not the sole responsibility of the Amazigh cultural movement; it is truly an important issue pertaining to national responsibility. This explains that, after a long period of ignorance, suspicion or expectation, various forces are trying to understand it their own way. Keeping in mind that reality is certainly more complex, we will roughly distinguish four approaches, each of which has its own methods. Four approaches, oscillating between the cultural and political and the national and international are thus competing to take care of the Amazigh issue in its cultural and political dimensions.

3.1 The Negationist Approach

The negationist approach is based on a unitarist ideology which poses as an axiom, following the French Jacobinist model, the unicity of the nation, the territory, the people, and the language. Under this option, the Amazigh language and culture are *de facto* excluded or marginalized, and proponents of this approach deny the very legitimacy of an *Amazigh* issue. Indeed, the Amazigh language and culture are generally perceived by the intellectual elites and the political class as a historical handicap. For them, it is an obstacle to the integration of the Moroccan society in larger, more competitive and more viable groupings. It is somewhat a *matter* which relates to passeism, if not tribalism or even a resurgence of the *siba*, the famous *Berber anarchy* (see Terrasse, 1949). In this conception of the cultural issue, two options can be recognized; these take their sources respectively in Arab-Islamism and Western universalism.

3.1.1 The Arabo-Islamist Option

The Arabist option is based on the theses of Arab nationalism. In the Arabist discourse, the Arabic language is adorned by all the euphoric myths supposed to be a basis for its *superiority*. It is affirmed that it is the most *beautiful* language of all by the symmetry of its morphological structures and the richness of its lexicon. It is the language of *eloquence* and *rhetoric* par excellence. The culture it conveys has demonstrated its superiority over other cultures because it was the most advanced culture during the

Middle Ages. Nowadays, it has declined, but it has potential which places it well above the local cultures expressed through the dialects.

The ultimate objective of the Arabist approach is to gradually build, through regional integrations, the *Arab Nation* to be governed by a transnational state which would manage all the shared material and human resources. The Arabic language and culture must be generalized to this transnational set according to the slogan: "The Arab Nation: A unified nation, an eternal mission from the Gulf to the Ocean." For the proponents of this vision, the establishment of the *Arab Nation* is the only way to meet the challenges of the West and Zionism, to overcome underdevelopment and to restore the golden era of Arab-Muslim civilization. In this perspective, the peripheral languages and cultures have a minoritized status: They are tolerated while waiting to be assimilated by the powerful ideological apparatuses of the supranational state. The approach denying the linguistic and cultural differences has contributed to highlight the assimilationist and authoritarist project of the Arabist-Baathist current and, thus, contributed to the multiple setbacks suffered at the military, political and ideological levels.

The supporters of the Islamist approach consider in general that in the Muslim world the Arabic language, by its status as the language of the Koran, is a sacred language, *the language of paradise*. Accordingly, other languages are not only lower but also unworthy of conveying the Arab-Muslim knowledge.

The approach of the Islamists of the Arab or Arabophone countries consists in the following assertion: The language of the Islamic state can only be Classical Arabic, a language whose original purity must be restored and one that must be ridden of lexical and syntactic borrowings from other exogenous languages, *luɣât al-ʒajam*. As for the minoritized languages, they are seen as the legacy of *jahilia*, linguistic scrap conveying superstition and charlatanism. For some, these languages, especially Amazigh in the Maghreb, are employed by their advocates as a Trojan horse which spreads the secular spirit, if not atheism. The Moroccan Islamists largely share this view, although some declare that Amazigh is part of the national identity and that it may be revalorized. However, there are two conditions for this:

It has to be written in Arabic characters, and it has to carry only the Islamic culture. In any event, its recognition may not be official and its use can only be provisional; it will last the time the eradication of illiteracy in classical Arabic requires.

3.1.2 The Occidentalist Option

Elites anchored in the system of globalization and the consumption of universal culture mostly adopt vis-à-vis the Amazigh culture an attitude of contempt or condescension. Because of their social extraction and/or their training, their education and their beliefs, these elites are trained in the canons of the universal culture, whose general principles are economic rationality, materialist values, political pluralism and economic liberalism. The vehicles of this culture are the transnational mass-media, new information and communication technologies, and the values of the industrial and postindustrial society, including individuality, competition and freedom.

In the general economy of the universalist model, the languages and cultures are products in competition in such a way that the fittest survive and the weakest perish. Thus, peripheral cultures are generally regarded as relics of the pre-industrial age and reflect the low cultural level of the under-developed societies, those who have not yet attained the virtues of Western rationality. These cultures could then continue to function as a *substratum* which is reified in the form of traditional, museographic and/or mercantile art objects, such as crafts and folk dances. However, these cultures are ultimately doomed to decline because they cannot be competitive in the global market for symbolic and materials goods in front of dominant languages and cultures, mainly the English language and the Anglo-Saxon culture. This is the cultural side of the new world order through globalization. The revitalization of peripheral languages and cultures is considered in this logic as a waste of time, money and energy, in short, an anachronistic attempt condemned to failure in advance by the very dynamics of history.

Thus, it appears that the management of the Amazigh issue in a system dominated by Arabist-Islamist or universalist elites can probably be only a

selective management, if not a reductive one, objectively condemning the Amazigh language and culture to be part of the stock of the symbolic heritage of humanity which is doomed to become obsolescent and die.

3.2 The Amazighist Approach

The discourse of what might be called “Amazighitude” aspires to couching Amazigh identity in an effort to build a society which is balanced, resolutely turned towards modernity, and anchored in an inclusive national identity. Starting from the fact that Amazigh language and culture are marginalized and minoritized and the fact that this bears prejudice against the rights of the Moroccan community as a whole, the Amazigh cultural movement is tackling the development of the conditions for the recognition of the Amazigh language and culture. In this sense, the Agadir Charter (1991) provides the inaugural platform for the Amazigh claims elaborated by association members representing the regions on the occasion of the meeting of the August 1991 session of the Association of the Summer University of Agadir (l’Association Université d’Eté d’Agadir) during the reign of King Hassan II. The approach adopted focuses on human rights, and the main claims related to the constitutionalization of the Amazigh language, its integration into institutions, including education, information and administration and regional development. The dissemination of the Charter catalyzed the Amazigh associations’ movement as new associations were created, and the claims made were of a cultural and political nature. As a logical consequence, the state started to listen. Thus, in 1994, militants of the Tilelli association of Errachidia participated in the parade of May 1, chanting slogans in favor of the official recognition of Amazigh. They were arrested and prosecuted. A wide solidarity movement was organized around the National Coordination Council of Associations. On 20th August of the same year, King Hassan II insisted in the Throne Speech on the depth of the country’s history and advocated the teaching of “dialects”. A few days later, the Prime Minister announced the introduction of an Amazigh news program on the national TV channel. On March 1, 2000, at the instigation of Mohammed Chafik, the *Manifesto for the Official Recognition of the Amazighness of Morocco* was elaborated and served as a platform for rallying the Amazigh associations around political, economic, social and cultural claims, including the official

recognition of the Amazigh language, the economic development of Amazighophone regions, the compulsory teaching of Amazigh, the revalorization of Amazighness in educational programs and the media, and the promotion of the Amazigh culture and its creators. The ensuing extensive mobilization of the Amazigh movement was behind the speeches of King Mohammed VI in 2001, the Throne Speech on 30th July and the Ajdir Speech on 17th October. The content of both speeches is a recognition at the top of the state of the place of Amazighness in the Moroccan identity and culture. An institution for the promotion of Amazigh was created under the tutelage of the King, the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture, at the head of which M. Chafik was appointed.

This event has been received in different ways. Some see it as an achievement that should be maximized by carrying out research actions so as to revitalize the language and culture, both in the field of education to promote the teaching of Amazigh and in the field of information to enable the integration of Amazigh in the media. Others, believing that it is a recovery tool in the hands of the state, have organized themselves into associations of Amazigh rights or into political organizations which remain unrecognized.

3.2.1 The Culturalist Option

The inclusive approach is more culturalist than political, or at least it poses the problem in terms of integrating Amazigh identity into national identity through the recognition of the Amazighs' linguistic and cultural rights. In other words, the proponents of this approach claim that the Amazigh culture is part of the national one, conceived of as a pluralistic, multidimensional entity in which the different components interact. These elements are certainly in competition, but they also enrich each other. The quest for the recognition of diversity within unity is regarded as an existential and emotional need and the exercise of the difference in identity as an undeniable, legitimate right.

Thus, in the plurality constituting this identity, Arab and African dimensions are considered as unbreakable, while Western otherness is not denied but assumed as a source of inspiration, regeneration and

revitalization. Thus, otherness can be positive as long as the relationship to identity is based on mutual recognition and affable interaction, an affability which transits by *linguistic peace*.

We have seen in previous chapters how the Amazigh language and culture are slowly (surely?) overcoming a critical situation in political, economic, social and ecological conditions which have largely contributed to their precariousness and whose effects objectively lead to the minoritization of their status and the reduction of their living space and the mass of their users. The emergence of a modern identity consciousness, born by an elite group militating for the recognition of the Amazigh language and culture, meets the will of the state affirmed by King Mohammed VI for the inclusion of Amazighness in Morocco as a modern, democratic, plural and respectful of human rights country. This state of affairs gradually helps to overcome the effects of a marginalization which, until recently, has subjected Amazighness to a compelling assimilation process.

So faced with a perilous situation which endangers the perenniality of the Amazigh language and culture, revitalization and promotion measures have been implemented, namely in the domains of education, media, language and culture in general. The measures targeting the revitalization of the Amazigh language and culture take three forms, namely scientific research aiming at codifying the language and spelling, cultural production ensuring the renewal of literary and artistic forms, and associative action boosting civil society. These measures are the achievement of the IRCAM under state policy and have made it possible to make significant advances with respect to the situation prior to the creation of this institution. Of course, problems remain, particularly regarding implementation at the level of public policies because there is resistance in some departments. This resistance is conspicuous in education; as a matter of fact, the ministry is reluctant to define the status, role and function of Amazigh in the educational system, and is having difficulty to ensure the conditions for its effective integration, including legislative and legal mechanisms related to its teaching as well as sufficient and well trained educational human resources that may help generalize it.

This situation, characterized by resistance in the field, leads some to ask whether the political will to further the process of recognizing Amazigh and guaranteeing its effectiveness in public policy indeed exists or whether the state's involvement has only been a flash in the pan under the particular conditions of the of the start of the reign due to tactical considerations.

3.2.2 The Sovereignty Option

It is precisely the gaps and dysfunctions identified in public policies which lead a part of the Amazigh movement to radicalize considering that effective, political will for a full recognition of Amazighness is lacking at both the legislative and executive levels; therefore, the most appropriate approach to managing the Amazigh issue is the political approach within a sovereignty vision. It is affirmed in this approach that Amazigh culture is the exclusive foundation of the symbolic personality of Morocco and that this culture must have preeminence in the socio-cultural field, since it is anterior to any other culture and is the matrix of national culture. Reversing the positions with respect to adherents of Arabism, the proponents of this approach boast about a feeling of an ethnic and ethical superiority of Amazighness and reject any measure alleged to jeopardize the first identity, like Arabization and integration in a supranational set. The process of Arabizing education and administration launched immediately after the independence is generally regarded as an ideological and political strategy whose aim is to acculturate Amazighs. Similarly, the Arabist and Islamist ideologies are interpreted as discourses that objectively aim at assimilating and alienating the non-Arab communities, specifically the Amazigh community.

The sovereignty approach is envisaged by the advocates of Amazighness in several forms: a comprehensive form represented by the Amazigh World Congress and a localist form expressed in some regions, especially in the Rif and in the southeast. The two forms may, tactically, join as the adopted vision is to raise the issue of the Amazigh language and culture as a fundamentally political problem. However, the fact of dissolving the Amazigh Democratic Party as well as the abortion of some projects to create political organizations based on Amazighness show that Amazigh political consciousness has not yet reached the level of conscious

self-determination, because of conditions relating to the actors in the movement and rules governing the functioning of the political field.

The globalist form deals with Amazighness in the framework of Tamazgha, the homeland of the Amazighs (North Africa), as opposed to that of the Arab nation; Amazighism is thus the opposite of Arabism. This thesis is the foundation of the platform of the World Amazigh Congress (Congrès Mondial Amazighe/ CMA), an international, non-governmental organization which was founded in 1995 in Saint-Rome-de-Dolan (France) and which advocates the "the defense of the political, economic, social, cultural and linguistic rights and interests of the *Amazigh* nation." This organization experienced a split in 2010 which led to the "Tizi Ouzou CMA" and the "Meknès CMA."

As part of this approach, there is an *indigenist* vision which develops argues that the Amazigh issue should be taken care of according to the recommendations of the *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (2007) stipulating the right to self-determination, which implies that indigenous peoples freely determine their political status, independently, ensure their economic, social and cultural development, and have the right to exploit and control the lands and resources they own or occupy. Based on this statement and considering the Amazighs as the indigenous people of Morocco, the indigenes movement asserts that the Amazigh people is deprived of its political, economic and socio-cultural rights. To recover these rights, there is a need for initiating a social movement from which a political organization advocating federalism is supposed to emerge so as to make successful claims of a political nature inside the country and to take actions to mobilize the international opinion through the United Nations organizations including the UN Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the Vienna Declaration (1993), which gave rise to the International Decade of Indigenous People. Under the provisions of these instruments, the trend that espouses this movement claims for the Amazighs the status of indigenous people and the rights related to that status, including the enjoyment of their rights to collective lands, forest, water and mining resources. We note in this connection that the Amazigh rights issue is

placed within a framework that goes beyond the approach of cultural and linguistic rights; it acquires a broader dimension that mobilizes identity in the service of socio-economic development. In this context, under the influence of plebeian elites, the terms of the claims take radical forms (see Le Saout, 2009).

3.3 The Human Rights Approach

With the development of civil society, the recognition of achievements in terms of human rights, the exemplary experience of the Equity and Reconciliation Commission and its recommendations, Morocco has resolutely embarked on the path of human rights. The Amazigh question is fundamentally a human rights issue, the management of which seems *a priori* likely to witness strong convergences provided that a vision of a universal, holistic and non-reductive notion of human rights is adopted, and the measures appropriate to the effective promotion of the Amazigh language and culture are implemented in public policies.

3.3.1 Ups and Downs of Human Rights Culture

The appropriation of the philosophy of cultural and linguistic rights is not obvious even to the national organizations of human rights, which remain in many cases prisoners of the ideology of monolingualism and uniculturalism. It is not yet fully acquired that cultural and linguistic rights are an integral part of human rights, as a system in which political, civil, economic, social, cultural, and linguistic rights are indivisible and interdependent. The culture to be developed is one on which is based the UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005), namely: respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, national sovereignty, equal dignity and respect for all cultures and languages, solidarity, complementarity of aspects of economic and cultural development, sustainable development, cultural diversity as a great wealth for individuals and societies, equal access to culture and openness to other cultures, and the balance between different cultures. The UNESCO Convention provides a general consensus; it is, however, not yet ratified by Morocco.

The Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights Barcelona (1996), as we have seen earlier, is the appropriate frame of reference to a proper understanding of language rights. It is feared, however, that the position of the government and human rights organizations, with the exception of AMDH (the Moroccan Association for Human Rights), is still mitigated because of the pervasiveness of Arabist ideology. This situation is detrimental to building a social, national democratic project, because it is surely a human rights approach which is likely to bring the views closer, to make share the same values and contribute to the abolition of mutual exclusion. In this perspective, the political management of the Amazigh issue may be part of an approach that supports both personal rights and collective rights. Managing the Amazigh fact in terms of personal rights means coping with it in the context of human rights in their universal meaning, namely the right of everyone to speak their native language and enjoy their culture, to learn them within the family, school and society, and to have access to public services through them.

This approach often collides with the affirmed will of the centralizing state to maintain *the principle of non-discrimination* among citizens by establishing a single language for everybody and imposing it in all the sectors it controls. This institutional egalitarianism leads, in the course of events, to reinforce the official language in the name of citizenship, patriotism and integration at the detriment of the peripheral languages and cultures. This is exactly what happened with the policy of generalizing Arabization and consolidating the French language, and de facto, the policy of excluding Amazigh.

3.3.2 Managing Linguistic Rights

The approach of the Amazigh issue in terms of human rights includes, on the one hand, the statement of cultural and linguistic rights and, on the other hand, the management of these rights in terms of governance.
Language rights are essentially:

- The right to the constitutional recognition of the language and culture;
- The right to teach the language and culture;

- The right to an equitable presence of the language and culture in the media;
- The right to use the language in public services;
- The right to have access to cultural services;
- The right to organize and manage resources to ensure the use of one's language in all spheres of social life;
- The right to have the necessary resources to ensure the transmission and continuity of the language and culture;
- The right to codify, standardize, preserve, develop and promote the language, without induced or forced interference; and
- The right to have access to other languages and other cultures.

As for the governance of the management of language rights, it can be done either through the principle of personal rights or in that of the principle of territoriality. Decentralized or federated states apply the principle of differential legal status according to which the languages and cultures of minority or minoritized communities enjoy a de facto recognition that gives them a certain place in education, administration and media. It is clear that in this legal regime, regional languages and cultures are quite often not really backed up; they are barely tolerated as a result of a more or less strong social demand depending on the case. The principle of institutional bilingualism is the basis of another approach in the context of individual rights; its implementation led to the institutionalization of a system of national and widespread bilingualism. By virtue of this principle, the national languages are recognized as official and, therefore, used nationwide in all state institutions (education, government, media, etc.) and by all citizens. Paraguay, with Spanish-Guarani national bilingualism, is one of the few examples where this option is adopted in the legislation but is much less effective in reality. This model has the merit of establishing an ideal equality between languages and cultures in terms of status and rights, but in fact its operability turns out to be impractical and costly.

As to the principle of territoriality, it is based on a geographical basis that is well-delimited on the map for the recognition of the territorialized language. Thus, in countries where two or more national languages with a

regional foundation coexist, linguistic rights are recognized and exercised within the limits of the region in question. This model applies in two approaches, according to the nature of the state:

(i) The first approach is found in states which recognize *de jure* only one official language but adopt a policy of linguistic decentralization; regional or *nationalitarian* languages are recognized within the confines of their territory, where they are employed in all sectors alongside the official language of the central state. Spain, with the policy of regional autonomy, is the most famous model. The country comprises 17 autonomous communities. The principle of territorial autonomy resulted in the creation of regional, territorial entities which have a capacity for self-government and the establishment for local administrations of a constitutional guarantee to manage their respective interests in an autonomous manner. The distribution of power between the levels of territorial administration is specified in section 137 of the constitution: "The state is organized territorially into municipalities, provinces and autonomous communities. All these entities enjoy the autonomy to manage their respective interests." The autonomous communities were classified according to the powers they are likely to exercise. The historic communities with full autonomy are: Catalonia, Euskadi or the Basque Country, Galicia and Andalusia. One can also cite the example of China, Vietnam, the former USSR, Nigeria, etc., and

(ii) The second approach is adopted in federate or confederate countries in which the state recognizes *de jure* the existence of two or more official languages each within its specific area. Each of the languages is then used exclusively in all areas and sectors of activity within its space. This formula is found in the Flemish Region and the Walloon country in Belgium (Brussels is officially a bilingual city). Switzerland is another country where each of the four constituent cantons of the confederation has its own language, namely French, German, Italian and Romansh. The case of Canada is interesting in that it is problematic. The country is officially bilingual (English-French). However, the majority of Canadians are actually Anglophones; Quebecers are Francophones by origin but also Anglophones by

necessity, and Ontarians are Francophones and/or Anglophones. This official bilingualism is actually unstable because in reality English is progressing at the expense of French, even in the latter's space (see Landry et al., 2005).

From the different options presented, we see the choices available in theory, once the management of the Amazigh issue is effectively envisaged. Quite obviously, each of these options involves policy choices and planning measures which may affect its status and/or its structures. Does the Amazigh cultural movement have a unified position concerning the political management of the Amazigh fact? First, it should be noted that there is/are no text/s which have either a general orientation or a deep analysis that would answer this question. However, we can rely on a few documentary sources to understand *roughly* the available standpoints; these are generally press releases, journal articles or statements at meetings or congresses of associations.

In light of these documents, we can *roughly* say that there are two tendencies emerging from this movement, but it is not easy to relate them in a precise way to a particular association: One conceives of this fact as a cultural and linguistic issue and the other as a political problem.

The trend which raises the issue as cultural and linguistic is couched *a priori* in a personal rights approach by demanding that linguistic and rights should be recognized and their exercise be guaranteed. Two proocesses can then be applied:

(i)A first process inspired from the *principle of differential legal status* envisages managing the Amazigh fact in terms of partial recognition, namely in education and the media. This is the solution towards which, it seems, the Moroccan state is moving.

(ii) A second process within the framework of the *principle of institutional bilingualism* generalizes to the entire nation de *jure* recognition of Amazigh and its use in all domains. This solution seems to be advocated by some Amazigh cultural associations claiming the historical legitimacy of Amazigh and the idea that every Moroccan is in essence an Amazigh.

The trend conceiving of the Amazigh fact as a political problem considers it in a territorial approach. Theoretically, this approach can receive two declinations, one based on the Spanish model and the other on the Swiss model. According to the first declination, the resolution of the problem would be undertaken within the framework of regionalization, so that Tarifit would be managed in the Rif, Tamazight in the space of central and south-eastern Morocco, and finally Tashlhit in the geo-cultural area of Souss and the Western High Atlas. According to the second declination, the resolution of the problem is considered in terms of “advanced regionalization”, i.e. regions with a wide autonomy at the institutional, economic and cultural levels. The model advocated by the Kabyle Autonomy Movement (Mouvement pour l’autonomie kabyle / MAK) is an example of the political management of Amazighness under the principle of territoriality. This scenario is based on five principles: recognizing Kabylia as a people and a nation, giving territorial autonomy to Kabylia within a decentralized Algeria, officializing the Kabyle language in Kabylia, secularizing Kabylia, and granting the regional entity its share of national natural resources.

4. Constitutionalization and Revitalization

The Amazigh is recognized as an official language, alongside Arabic, in the Constitution adopted on July 1st, 2012. This is a historical event unprecedented in Morocco and in the countries where the Amazigh is a national language. This recognition opens up considerable prospects towards the revitalization of the Amazigh and impulse decisively the process of institutionalization of the language and the culture. Thus, new stakes and challenges are getting more and more visible on Moroccan political scene. Indeed, the positive management of these stakes and challenges requires new strategies at the level of the central State and at the level of regional institutions as well.

4.1 Territorialization of Linguistic Rights

In Morocco, the Amazigh cultural and linguistic issue could find an appropriate solution in the framework of the new regionalization policy announced by King Mohammed VI in the speeches of 30 July, 2001, of 7

November, 2008 and of 3 January, 2010, in which regionalization is presented as a strategic choice that should serve democracy and development. The Moroccan experience is supposed to be a vanguard model of regionalization for developing countries. In the first speech, the cultural dimension of regionalization is strongly present:

> We also see in it the advent of a decentralized, outreach administration managed by regional elites, and the emergence of distinctive cultural diversity which is a source of enrichment for the Moroccan nation. We are convinced that democracy not only consists in achieving equality in a united nation-state where the law reigns, but it also requires a cultural substratum which shows respect for the diversity of regional cultural particularities by offering them space that would ensure their continuity, creativity and diversity, which harmoniously build national unity. Accordingly, we consider the glorious Feast of the Throne, which embodies the unity of our people and which, by connecting our past to our present, urges us to reflect on ways to ensure a better future for our nation, to be the suitable opportunity to converse with you, dear people, about an important issue that concerns us all, namely the question of national identity, an identity characterized by its diversity and plurality as well as its homogeneity, unity and originality throughout history.

It is clear that we have here the ingredients which legitimize a healthy political management of the Amazigh issue in the context of the "advanced regionalization" advocated by the Sovereign, a conception that attaches to the symbolic, cultural and linguistic dimension all its value and importance in building the regional and national identity. Let us agree, however, that the cultural and linguistic diversity is virtually absent in the most recent speeches. Is there a change in the State's position on the issue of cultural and linguistic diversity in general and on the Amazigh issue in particular? This question is relevant in the context of the political reforms that are envisaged, namely the project of "advanced regionalization" and the "constitutional reform" proposed by the State. On reading the report of the Advisory Board of Advanced Regionalization (March 2011), it appears that the proposed territorial division responds to administrative and security considerations in the first place. In fact, the cultural and linguistic dimensions have not been taken into account since the traditionally Amazighophone regions are included in areas where there are also Arabic-speaking communities. It is thus clear that the configuration of the regional

map as presented in the report does not make it possible to provide the Amazigh language and culture the spatial environment that is capable of ensuring conditions for sustainability.

The paradox of the territorial approach to the Amazigh language and culture can be raised as follows:

(i) Territorialization provides a natural space with the historical, cultural and socio-economic foundations that ensure the effective conditions for safeguarding, transmitting and promoting the Amazigh language and culture in its diversity;

(ii) Territorialization strengthens the splitting of the Amazigh language and culture into dialects and varieties, thereby preventing the standardization of a common language, in addition

(iii) Territorialization leads to ignoring the Amazighophone communities secluded in Arabic-speaking agglomerations especially in the city. Solving this problem could be part of a Finnish solution. Indeed, in Finland, to any minority reaching 10% of the population applies the principle of differential legal status guaranteeing the rights of minorities to the teaching of their language and culture as part of personal rights.

In the light of the consideration of the various alternatives for the political management of the Amazigh issue, it appears that, without effective political will, without real commitment from the State and without the consensus of all parties involved in the linguistic and cultural issue, initiatives to revitalize Amazigh can only be a cautery on a wooden leg or slogans without substance. Besides general policy choices, the choice of the framework in which the Amazigh cultural and linguistic issue is to be managed is crucial. A serious question is: in terms of governance, is it appropriate to adopt the principle of individual rights, with either the status of the minority culture-language, i.e. that of the "co-language" in the Arab-Amazigh bicultural/ bilingual regime of the country, or the principle of territorial rights in the context of "advanced regionalization"? The risks are as follows: in the first choice, the effectiveness of equal rights with Arabic is unlikely and, in the second choice, strengthening the dialectalization of the language and the fragmentation of Amazighness are insured. The third

choice would be that of the political and legal blur, a blur which is detrimental to diversity in general and Amazighness in particular.

4.2 Social Trends and Revitalization

The issues involved in the positioning of forces present in the political field in terms of managing the Amazigh issue challenge the state, the political class and society. It must be kept in mind that the problem of the Amazigh language and culture has long been taboo. This has been so mainly because of the desire to build a centralized and strong nation-state, annihilating particularistic forces which have a regional or tribal nature, and because of the impact of the legacy of the nationalist ideology produced by the urban Arabist bourgeoisie, which considers the Amazigh identity as a real or potential danger to Arabness and/or Islamicness.

If such was the situation for several decades after independence, now there is the beginning of a shift in mentalities, positions and behaviors. Indeed, despite the fact that former Moroccan constitutions made no mention of the Amazigh language; however, some indices can be interpreted as signs of institutional recognition. Examples are the 2001 Royal speeches, which recognize the essential place that goes to Amazighness in national identity, the teaching of Amazigh, which covers primary education and is about to start in higher education, the integration of Amazigh in the media landscape, particularly by the launching of the Tamazight television channel, the outputs of IRCAM in promoting the Amazigh language and culture, and the assertion of a positive feeling of identity at the societal level, etc. Social attitudes and representations of *Amazighitude* are now drastically changing as a result of the constitutional recognition of Amazigh as an official language.

The civil society has played a crucial role in the official recognition of Amazigh through various actions, especially cultural activities and activist demonstrations. The trend within the Amazigh movement for the constitution of political associations is a new deal that could, if the subjective and objective conditions required are available, yield a reconfiguration of the political field by making the Amazighness issue a political challenge. The conditions of the possibility of management the

Amazighness issue within the sovereignty approach lie in the ability of the Amazigh movement to shift from the state of a trend with a communitarianist and indigenous tendency to a social movement which bears an alternative and viable political project. This presupposes the emergence of an autonomous leadership that is able to devise a strategy that permits the generation of new mobilizing symbols transcending mechanical solidarity and traditional loyalties, the adoption of new modes of organization and new forms of claims and a large repertoire of collective action (see Touraine, 1978; Neveu, 1996). In short, there is a need for a political elite which does not aim only at the mobilization of ethnicity in the struggle for participation in power and control of the state in order to share prebends and privileges. Within the global context, characterized by the dual polarization of globalization and localization, the question of the politicization of identities related with the formation of states is a fact that is bound to spread. The Amazigh field is no exception to this rule, hence the need for the state, strategists and political scientists, to give it the attention it deserves because it could well be the scene of political and socio-economic aspects that go beyond cultural and linguistic aspects.

Despite the complexity of the problems facing Maghrebian societies, they cannot do without a rational and impartial elucidation of their contradictions, particularly those inherent in the linguistic and cultural diversity. The challenge of this problem is the regulation of contradictions between the centripetal tendency which reduces plurality to singularity, diversity to unity, and unity to uniqueness, on the one hand, and the autonomist tendency, which proclaims an absolute, irreducible identity, on the other hand. The transition from a society founded on identity polarities based on conflictual mechanical, ethnolinguistic or religious solidarity to a society based on the organic relations (Durkheim, 1999) of the contract on which social cohesion is based is the key challenge of the transformation of Maghrebian communities. Thus, it is clear that the basic challenge resides in knowing how to manage the dichotomy between universality and specificity in terms of recognizing and guaranteeing human rights in their entirety, i.e. civic, political, economic, social, cultural and linguistic rights. This means that the human being’s dignity is antinomian with poverty, ignorance, and the denial of his cultural identity.

Epilogue

Glocalization and Revitalization

Through the present epilogue, we would like to reconstruct the linguistic landscape in Morocco, a landscape that has been deconstructed in previous chapters. The envisaged reconstruction process considers the problem of the endangerment and revitalization of Amazigh in a context that examines both what is global and what is local at the same time. Thus, the challenges and issues involved in the process of changing the status and structure of Amazigh are comprehended in the context of *glocalization*.

Calqued on the Japanese word *dochakuta* meaning global localization, the term *glocalization* refers to a concept developed in the field of economic and financial practices in a perspective that combines global trends with local realities. This articulation of globalization on localization has the advantage, firstly, of opening up what is local on the macro-environment facts, namely the political, economic, cultural and technological ones. It also makes it possible to adjust these facts to local characteristics, including historical, cultural, religious and political ones. The value of the *glocalization* approach is to provide a lever for controlling the effects of dominance induced by globalization and those related to the resilience mechanisms generated by local specificities.

1. Globalization *vs* Localization

Transposed into the cultural and linguistic domain, the concept of *glocalization* is an analytical tool that enables the analyst to describe and explain the synergy of endogenous and exogenous cultural and linguistic phenomena. The processes involved in this synergy are driven by the interplay of the contradictory forces of localization and globalization. The forces of localization have their seal mark the realities of political, economic, social, cultural and linguistic facts, reflecting the specificities of communities; while the forces of globalization drive general tendencies that impose and establish, at a global scale, the dominant linguistic and cultural products by the means available to the imperial policies and economies.

For all states, and probably societies, in the world, the motto *thinking global and acting local* is the strategic equation to solve. This equation

arises even more crucially in the countries of the South as they face head-on both the positive and the perverse effects of globalization. The question to be addressed then is the following: What benefits can be drawn from globalization on a local scale? The ideational answer certainly lies in the rational and impartial management of the binomial globalization-localization in terms of *glocalization*. In the linguistic field, this necessarily requires the mastery of the rules of the language market, rules underlain at the same time by the centripetal forces of globalization and the centrifugal forces of localization.

Managing the problem of linguistic diversity is undertaken essentially within the framework of the language policy adopted by the state and the sociolinguistic dynamic generated by the community. However, the state policy may be authoritarian, efficient or merely ideological and platonic. A non-authoritarian and efficient policy is one that meets the requirements of democracy and equity, i.e. a consensual policy formulated at the constitutional level and implemented at the institutional and operational ones. Thus, the nature of the management of languages is an indicator of the quality of governance- governance which has a direct bearing on human development. Such a belief is shared by specialists (*see* Weinstein, 1990).

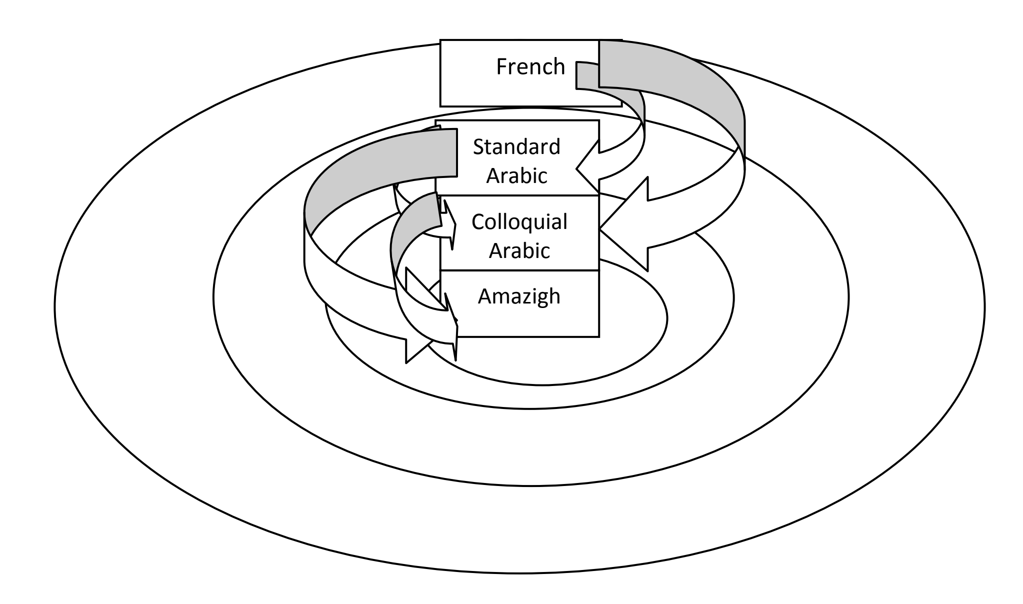
Since their independence, Maghreb states have adopted a language policy which proclaims the primacy of Standard Arabic but which functions, in reality, as a default policy. Thus, the general trend has consisted in letting the competition between languages take its natural course, even if a legal arsenal, which is just as coercive as inefficient, is sometimes deployed in support of the Arabization option. The multilingualism that characterizes the linguistic scene in the Maghreb is based on the practice of *diglossia,* that is to say that speakers communicate in situations where the social uses prioritize languages in terms of high, strong varieties as opposed to low, weak ones (*see* Ferguson, 1959; Fishman, 1978). Generally, this sociolinguistic phenomenon is inherent in social groups undergoing linguistic diversity as a hybrid product of the contact of globalization and localization. The minoritization of the local languages is explained by their competition and conflict with exogenous linguistic products, whose

superiority in terms of weight and value leads to providing their users with substantial symbolic and material profits (*see* Bourdieu, 1982).

2. languages, Power, and Conflict

The particular sociolinguistic situation prevailing in Morocco is marked by a dynamics which brings the different languages into interaction. The representation below illustrates the hierarchization of the language market into an ex-colonial, super-central language (French), a central language (Arabic), a national coined (Colloquial Arabic), and finally a local language (Amazigh). As for English, the hyper-central language at the global level, it still has a marginal role in Morocco. The stratification of the language market reflects the competition of the co-existing languages in terms of socio-political status, language functions and domains of use. Thus, French competes with Standard Arabic in the functions and practices associated with strong languages, particularly in the fields of modern economy, technology, education, and the media. Standard Arabic is used exclusively in the domains of religion and judicature; in other domains, it is in conflict with French. Colloquial Arabic is the prevalent language of communication in informal domains. As such, it is the principal competitor with Amazigh and still represents the most imminent danger for Amazigh, which is confined to the functions and uses of a vernacular language. But, undeniably, the new status of Amazigh, as an official language, will reinforce its position within the linguistic market by assigning it new socio-cultural roles and functions which will conduct more positive attitudes from speakers.

The following figure represents the interaction of the languages and shows the stratification of the so called linguistic market: :



The dynamics of languages

The power relations between languages are obviously unstable; they evolve with the dynamism of the political and sociolinguistic situation. Ensuing from this is the fact that the position of languages depends on the social groups that support them and that identify with them. Roughly, from this standpoint and according to the declared attitudes, the speakers' positions are relatively clear. Generally speaking, the groups which mobilize the identity discourse aiming at the recognition of cultural and linguistic rights, indigenousness or communitarianism, often identify with Amazighophony. Those which take their sources in Arab-Islamist patrimonialism support Arabophony; while those which are for liberalism and integration in globalization are more open to bilingualism, which, in the perspective of this group, is the high road towards managing this situation. For some, this bilingualism involves Standard Arabic and French, given the weight of past colonialism and the constraints of the current realities. For others, preference is for Standard Arabic-English bilingualism. The latter assume a prospective vision, wondering whether French is efficient as a viable linguistic medium for openness to the international scene and the global culture of the present times. This question derives from the fact that French is increasingly marginalized on the international

scene and progressively on the Francophone scene itself, namely in the domains of finance, marketing, and scientific and technological research. However, one may wonder in what ways access to the hyper-central language (English) and/or super-central language (French), which remains the prerogative of the dominant classes, is not socially discriminatory, acting as a barrier to integrating the elite group. The status of French in Francophone Africa perfectly illustrates this situation (*see* Myers-Scotton, 1990).

The past and current history of the Maghreb region is a heavy burden on the communities and their institutions which are obliged to manage composite situations. These situations involve an overlap between endogenous elements relating to the local stratum and exogenous ones imposed by globalization, hence the conflict between tradition and modernity, identity isolationism, or, on the contrary, forced extraversion. This shows the importance of the issues and challenges of *glocalization* in the region, i.e. the necessary synergy between the best practices at the local and global levels. Maghreb societies are learning new socio-political conditions within a macro-environment which tends to be favourable to human rights and democratic reforms. They are, thus, in search of a society project based on political democracy, linguistic and cultural plurality, controlled modernity, and human development. Managing the diversity of languages and cultures, which some consider as a source of difficulty and potential risk, can be a lever within an equitable governance of this project. Indeed, there is evidence that a policy based on the constitutional recognition of linguistic diversity is to guarantee equality of opportunity for languages and cultures. Better yet, a policy of positive discrimination in favor of the minoritized languages and cultures could enable them to escape the inevitability of death (see Crystal, 2004). Therefore, the platonic and symbolic recognition of the diversity of languages and cultures may not be able to provide the conditions for the perenniality of endangered languages.

3. Glocalization, Equity, and Ethics

In its environment, Amazigh is certainly confronted with forces which tend to maintain the *status quo*, that in which Amazigh is a minoritized

language. These forces emanate, on the one hand, from circles which see in the revalorization of Amazigh a danger for the Arabic language and culture and for the integration of the Moroccan society in the Arab-Islamic world. On the other hand, there are the universalist forces, which consider the recognition of Amazigh a historical disability that would be in the path of progress and modernity. To struggle against this denial, the Amazighist movement adopted a strategy of symbolic differentiation, with different tones, investing the socio-political field to contribute to its reconstruction and to break the monopoly of the Arab-Islamist ideology underlying it. In this strategy, Amazighophony serves as a center of identity crystallization through the mobilization of legitimacy in a two-fold fashion: historical legitimacy based on the indigenousness of Amazigh people, and legitimacy based on human rights, namely linguistic and cultural rights.

The salient challenge related to the issue of language revitalization is certainly political. It is determined by the nature of the state system and the choice of strategy. The alternative options are: a policy based on absolute identities or a political culture dedicated to promoting diversity. From this perspective, the relevant question is which model to adopt so as to preserve the wealth and diversity of the world's linguistic and cultural ecology. In view of equity and ethics, it can only be a model based on the repository of human rights as defined in the legal instruments of universal law. From the perspective of the revitalization strategy, this choice satisfies the local expectations for the sustainability of their linguistic heritage. At the same time, it benefits from the experiences of good practices around the world, experiences that show how the *glocalization* approach can trigger the revitalization process of endangered language varieties.

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REVITALIZING THE AMAZIGH LANGUAGE



Despite the complexity and urgency of the resolution of the structural problems that face North African societies, they cannot save themselves a comprehensive understanding of their realities, including those inherent in the cultural and linguistic diversity. The major challenge of this issue concerns the regulation of the contradiction between, on the one hand, the centripetal trend which brings back plurality to singularity, diversity to unity and unity to uniqueness; and on the other hand, the centrifugal trend that claims an absolute and irreducible identity. Within this general framework, the present study attempts to analyze the case of the sociolinguistic situation prevailing in Morocco. The analysis focuses mostly on the stakes and strategies at work in the process of the revitalization of Amazigh, an endangered language raised recently to the rank of an official language. The main issue dealt with is to examine to what extent the undertaking of the language policy promoting Amazigh can trigger a reversal language shift phenomenon.

Ahmed BOUKOUS

REVITALIZING THE AMAZIGH LANGUAGE



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